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CONTENTS

ARTICLES:

THE ORIGIN OF THE SUMERIAN WRITING ...	H. HERAN, S.J. ...	3
THE STRANIKAR AND THEIR HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE ...	B. A. SALETORE...	29
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAULHAI IN MARATHI HISTORY ...	R. N. SALETORE	94
THREE DECCANI PAINTINGS ON CANYAN FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ARSAR HYDARI COLLECTION IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA ...	MOTI CHANDRA	108
CAUSES OF INDIAN GOLD EXPORTS ...	N. S. PARDASANI	120
THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES OF THE JANJIRA STATE ...	M. S. BHAGAT ...	131

REVIEWS:

POVERTY AND POPULATION IN INDIA ...	...	155
THE SOCIAL PROCESS ...	...	157
URBAN HANDICRAFTS OF THE BOMBAY METROPOLIS	160

BOOKS RECEIVED ...

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ...

EXCHANGES ...



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THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES OF THE JANJIRA STATE	M. S. BHAGAT ...	131

REVIEWS:

POVERTY AND POPULATION IN INDIA	155
THE SOCIAL PROCESS	160
URBAN HANDICRAFTS OF THE BOMBAY DECCAN	162

<u>BOOKS RECEIVED</u>	164
------------------------------	-----

<u>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</u>	165
-------------------------------	-----

<u>EXCHANGES</u>	166
-------------------------	-----



THE ORIGIN OF THE SUMERIAN WRITING

That the Sumerian Writing is a development of another sort of writing is a fact admitted by all Sumeriologists. When the Fara tablets were published,¹ all realized that these tablets show an earlier stage of development than those studied by Thureau Dangin² and by Barton.³ A few years later a set of newly discovered tablets at Jemdet Nasr were also published⁴—tablets which evidently disclose a much earlier period in the development of that writing, so early as to leave a gap between it and the period of the Fara tablets. The transition from Jemdet Nasr to Fara was finally found in the archaic texts discovered at Ur by the joint Expedition of the British Museum and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia.⁵ Earlier than all these the Kish tablet of the Ashmolean Museum marks the initial state of the Sumerian Script, with which we are now acquainted.⁶

While studying all these stages of development, one easily finds out that the pictographs of the Kish tablet have suffered a considerable change in the tablets of Jemdet Nasr and Ur, and much more in those of Fara. The signs become conventionalized and apparently phonetic. Their original pictographic nature disappears almost absolutely. Moreover round forms are little by little straightened, very little in Jemdet Nasr, much more in Fara. Thus the transition from these conventionalized straight shaped signs to the cuneiform sign is almost imperceptible.

This evidently shows that the original script was a pictographic script. The late Prof. S. Langdon speaking of the two styles of making signs in the Jemdet Nasr period says that both groups part "from the original and homogeneous pictographic stage"⁷. Prof. Ball affirms the same: "It has long been recognized that Sumerian writing was originally of a pictorial or hieroglyphic nature".⁸

1. Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara* (Leipzig, 1922).

2. Thureau Dangin, *Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Écriture Cuneiforme* (Paris, 1898).

3. Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, (Leipzig 1913).

4. Langdon, *Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr*, (Oxford, 1928).

5. Burrows, *Archaic Texts [of Ur]* (1935).

6. Cf. Smith, *Early History of Assyria to 1,000 B.C.*, Pl. III, b & c.

7. Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. iv.

8. Ball, *Chinese and Sumerian*, p. vii.

Where and when was this pictographic writing used? This is indeed a crucial question in the history of early epigraphy. Since the signs of the Kish Tablet are all pictographs, could we suppose that this tablet marks the original pictographic stage?

First of all, since the document is one only, and the signs inscribed on it are not many, it would be too premature to make a statement. Accordingly Prof. Langdon himself only affirms that the Kish Tablet "has the signs more near the original pictographs than the Jemdet Nasr script"¹, and indeed, if we are to believe late Babylonian tradition, the Sumerian script came from abroad, brought to the valley of the Euphrates by Gannes, Odakon and all these half mythical heroes whose names are recorded in Berosus' fragments².

Prof. Ball after studying the very suggestive similarities and even connections between Chinese and Sumerian finally concluded that both scripts might have come from a third original script of central Asia³. At the time of Ball's publication the script of Mohenjo Daro was not yet fully known. Could Mohenjo Daro be the solution to our query?

Sir C. L. Woolley boldly affirms that "the Indus Culture appears to have had no effect on the Sumerians"⁴. No other was the opinion of Prof. Langdon when he published the sign list of the Mohenjo Daro script in the work of Sir John Marshall.⁵ Yet after the publication of the Jemdet Nasr tablets he was forced to change his views. In a P. S. he attached to the above mentioned sign list, he corrects his former views⁶ and when he published the Jemdet Nasr tablets he acknowledged that "beyond all doubt, this race [viz. the Sumerians at least of Jemdet Nasr] is connected with the race whose press seals and painted pottery have been found in the Indus Valley at Mohenjo Daro in the Sind and at Harappa in the Punjab"; and lest there be any doubt about the kind of connection the Professor means, he adds: "The Sign No. 408 [of Jemdet Nasr] which was lost in the Sumerian script is characteristic of the Indus Valley script, and a large number of signs are identical in the two scripts."⁷ Even the way of writing seems originally to

1. Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. iii.

2. Cf. Schnabel, *Berosus und die Babylonisch-Hellistische Literatur*, pp. 172-175 (Berlin, 1923).

3. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. x, f. n.

4. Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art*, p. 85. Cf. pp. 130-131.

5. Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, II, pp. 428-452.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 453-455.

7. Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

have been the same in both the countries, according to the Oxford Professor, who speaking of the Jemdet Nasr tablets avers that "the writing originally ran from right to left, as does the script of the Indus Valley seals."¹

After a careful study of the Mohenjo Daro script, I boldly stated in a lecture delivered before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on March 18th, 1935, that the Mohenjo Daro signs were the original pictographs from which the Sumerian signs are derived. *The Times*, London, published a report of my lecture on March 24th. Two days after in a letter published in the same paper, Prof. Langdon, apparently forgetting what he had written eight years before, said referring to the Mohenjo Daro script: "It is obvious that the script is not only later by at least 1,500 years than the early pictographic Sumerian script, which can be traced to about 4,000 B. C., but also that the two scripts have nothing whatsoever in common."

The opinion of the present writer was not after all so extravagant. Dr. Hunter, following in the steps of Prof. Langdon himself acknowledges the similarities between the Sumerian and Mohenjo Daro scripts;² and Prof. Barton admits the probability of Indus Valley origin of the Sumerians.³ Now, after having deciphered above one thousand and eight hundred inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro, I am reconfirmed in my views as regards the Indian origin of the Sumerian writing.

This is what I am going to develop in the following pages. I am, however, not going to publish a full list of signs nor their genealogical formation. A few signs have been picked up here and there and their genealogy is explained after the knowledge acquired while reading the Mohenjo Daro script. Occasionally references will be found to the Proto-Chinese script. For convenience sake the signs have been placed according to the alphabetical order of their meanings.*

-
1. *Ibid.*, p. iii. The script of Mohenjo Daro is boustrophedon, i. e. odd lines from right to left and even lines from left to right.
 2. Hunter, *The Script of Mohenjo Daro*, pp. 19-21 (London,).
 3. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, pp. 36-37 (Philadelphia).
 4. In the course of this article the following abbreviations will be used:
 Ki—Kish Tablet
 Ur—Archaeological Texts of Ur
 of Burrows
 Ba—More recent specimens
 of writing, in Barton's
 work
 Jn—Jemdet Nasr of Langdon
 Fa—Fara tablets of Deimel
 MD—Mohenjo Daro and Harappa
 seals
 PC—Proto-Chinese writing

1. ACACIA

The sign \ominus is found twice in Ur, once in this position (145) and the other time in the opposite direction \ominus (183). They seem to be the same. It is found in seal impressions only. On account of the round shape of its lines, the sign seems to be very old and nearer the original pictographic origin than many signs of Ur. The same sign is very often found in MD. in the ordinary position. It reads *all*, "acacia" in the MD. script.







Fr. Burrows does not give any meaning to this sign. In point of fact it does not seem to have any correspondence in later Sumerian or cuneiform writing. Perhaps the acacia did not grow in Mesopotamia. This would be another argument in favour of the early age of this sealing, proving a sort of remembrance of the Mohenjo Daro acacias.

2. ASS


Two pictographs of an ass are shown in Ba (211). One represents the whole animal with the hind portion extremely conventionalized \curvearrowright . This is of Proto-Elamite origin. The other sign represents the head of the ass only. \curvearrowright Out of this the later Sumerian linear representation and the cuneiform signs are derived. In Jn (130) the head of the ass is clearly seen, \curvearrowright , a little turned upwards in an unusual position. This seems to be the clear ancestor of the above Sumerian type. Both signs, the Proto-Elamite and the Sumerian, find their representation in MD. The sign corresponding to the former is given in connection with an "ass rider" \curvearrowright *ka-lu-de orvan* (MD. Ph., M. D., 31-32 Sd, 3089). The other seems to be used when the mere mention of an ass is made \curvearrowright (MD. Ph., H., Neg. 4395, No. 3). This seems to be the same sign as Jn. turned to the opposite side and placed 90° to the left.





3. BIRD


This sign though much conventionalized in Ba (83), still keeps the original shape pretty well in the archaic period: \curvearrowright . Later it is difficult to recognise it any more. As birds live in the air, it meant the god Enlil "the lord of the air" at a later period. Why it ever stood for man, cannot be easily understood. In Pa (64) \curvearrowright the bird's shape is still more easily recognisable. The figure Jn (191) \curvearrowright is very roughly made. The sign \curvearrowright of a sealing of Ur (119) seems to be another shape of the same sign. Another sealing of Ur (419) has a real pictograph of a bird: \curvearrowright .

In MD several birds are represented:  *kōli*, a member of the Koli tribe (Marshall, M. D., No. 207);  *pura*, "pigeon", (the totem of a tribe) (Marshall, H., No. 259);  *mararikoti*, "woodpecker";  *idrā*, "duck" (*Ibid.*, M. D., No. 93) and  or  *parava*, bird in general (*Ibid.*, M. D., Nos. 8, 35, 338, etc), which is always inscribed to mention the members of the tribe of the Paravas. The Ur sign mentioned in the last place seems to be derived from the Parava sign.² But the preceding signs seem to proceed from the sign that stands for *tara*. The very archaic character of that Ur sign may confirm our view. Is it perhaps a reference to the Paravas of India? Yet, those signs that seem to have come from *tara* mean bird in general at a later period.





4. BOAT

The sign  of Ba (137) cannot be easily explained as coming from a pictograph. The explanation of Barton is not satisfactory. In MD this sign belongs to a phonetic family of signs that have all a similar shape and a similar phonetic value.


	<i>5</i> <i>qht</i> , "leg", "to walk"
	<i>Z</i> <i>idi</i> "lightning"
	<i>V</i> <i>ade</i> "royal land tax"
	<i>N</i> <i>ada</i> "boat"

Apparently there was never a pictograph meaning "boat". If the latter sign is turned 90° to the left according to Sumerian custom, thus  , one can, by an easy process, come to the sign of Ba.


5. CANAL

The sign of Fa (121)  easily shows its pictographic origin. Two rivers (the horizontal lines) united by a canal (the vertical line). The fact that the latter is marked by two lines viz. the two banks of the canal, is intended to emphasize the canal over the two rivers in this sign. The Ju (396) sign  is not so explained. Ju (409)  which has apparently not been given any meaning, seems to be a pictograph of a canal, more in accordance with the MD sign  , from which the above Fa sign seems to come.








6. CHARIOT

The sign of Ba (262)  seems to be correctly explained: "Perhaps the sign was a diagram of a chariot, when viewed from




1. Cf. Herz, *Sumerian Epigraphy*, *The New Review*, v, p. 262.






above, the single line representing the pole and the two lines at the left the projecting wheels".¹ Barton seems to have had the MD sign in view when describing this sign. The MD sign  beyond all doubt is the original pictograph of the above sign.

7. CITY



The determinative for cities used in Jn (238)  has its clear ancestor in MD where  reads *ār*, "city". The sign is found in many combinations that stand for names of individual cities;  *Vār*,  *Marāmār*,  *Ārārār*, etc. Jn (16) , which is found in an early sealing seems to be the name of a city. In MD, there is a similar sign , which reads *Orār*.

8. CLOUDS











In Ba (480) there is a very quaint sign  which means "storm cloud" or "thunder storm". No satisfactory explanation of this sign has been given (Cf. Barton, *op. cit.*, II, p. 231). The same sign has been found in MD of course in the ordinary erected position . Perhaps the origin of this sign is the sign  (MD. Ph., H., Neg. 3006, No. 14), meaning "garden" (Cf. "garden" below). The four stems represented in this pictograph are shorn of their leaves and flowers in the former one. That may be the effect of a storm. Consequently, this would be the original meaning of the sign. "Storm-cloud" would then be the secondary meaning.

There are besides in MD other signs meaning clouds. One of them seems to appear also in Ur (31) . It appears on a sealing, and Fr. Barrows does not seem to assign any meaning to it nor to point out any later sign as a development of it. In MD (Ph., M. D., 28-29, No. 7242) this sign is, as usual, found in an erected position with four additional strokes: . It reads *harumugi* "rain clouds". This is the only time this sign occurs. I do not know whether to call it a mistake or a later development (specially considering the above sign of Ur). The sign, otherwise, is many times found turned to the other side: . It is also very often found without the strokes, and then it reads *mugi*, "clouds". It is very interesting to follow the evolution of this sign. It has two elements  and . The former always reads *il*, but sometimes it means *not*, sometimes *in* and sometimes *house*. The latter seems to be the proper meaning here. If this element reads *il*, the other element must read *muk* or *mug*,

1. Barton, *op. cit.*, II, p. 137.





which means "to draw, as water". *Mugi*, therefore, means "the house of drawn water" which is phonetically expressed in the sign itself. Because this meaning was naturally not understood in PC they slightly changed the sign thus:  or , *yin*, "cloud". For no other reason this sign evidently used in Sumer in the beginning, as the sealing of Ur shows, was forgotten at a later period. They preferred to use the sign first mentioned in this article which being in straight lines was more in accordance with the character the script was actually taking.

9. COUNTRY


This word is expressed in different ways in Ba (323): , ,  and . In Fa (451) the signs are ,  or , meaning hill. In Ur (418) , once more meaning country. This dual meaning of the word *kur* evidently shows that the country, i.e. their country, originally was mountainous. In MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 215) the sign  stands for "lands", which seems to be the original meaning of all the above signs. In our case anyhow it is interesting to notice that after passing through so many stages of development the sign reappears in the cuneiform script almost as it was in its original condition: .

The word *kur*, "country" was used amongst the Sumerians to mean their own country, while *kurkur* meant the foreign countries. *kur* also meaning "other", "different". So *kurkur* properly meant "different" or "other countries." This phrase also seems to come from the Proto-Dravidian people of MD. In Dravidian languages *kurukur* literally means: "countries across" or "opposite countries".





10. COWS

The sign meaning "cows" in Ur (177) is already angular and almost cuneiform: . In a sealing of Ur (178) there is a similar sign, , which seems to be its immediate ancestor. Yet Fr. Burrows seems to compare the latter sign with Jn (179) , which is read by Prof. Langdon sig, "low". Yet, Prof. Langdon himself says that the sign is found at times in lists of sheep. The Jn sign apparently stands for cows, too. It is difficult to imagine how this sign can come from a pictograph of a cow. The MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 400) gives the link, , which reads a, "cow". This sign is a much conventionalized development


1. Cf. Herra, *The Story of two Mohenjo Daro Signs*, *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, I, No. 3.




of the original pictograph as may be seen when placed in its natural position, thus:  The body and the four legs of the animal are easily seen. The upper line of the body becomes the tail at the back and the horn in front. Over the horn an ear may be seen. All these additional limbs were lost in course of time, the main lines of the pictograph remaining only, which later became angular.

11. CROSSWAY

The Jn (136)  is a simplified way of marking the original MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 100) , *kaḍa*, which means "to cross", "and" (At the entrance of many courtyards in South India and Ceylon, they place a contrivance of this shape to prevent the cattle from entering. They call it *kaḍaṁ* at present). When this sign means *kaḍa*, "frontier", "boundary", "horizon", it takes always this shape:  (MD, Marshall, M. D., No. 102). There is still another sign of the same family , which reads *koḍikaḍa*, "the beginning and the end".

12. DEATH

In Ba (70)  means "death, corpse"; in Fa (17) the same sign stands for "corpse", "to kill"; in Jn (271) it means "dead". Assyriologists and Sumeriologists give different explanations of this sign. Why does an arrow mean "death"? Barton gives this ingenious but not fully satisfactory explanation: "Perhaps it is a rude representation of a branching vein or artery. It would then naturally mean *artery* and *blood*. The importance of blood to life (cf. Dent, 12, 23 *the blood is the life*) suggested *live, be*; then by an extension, *die, die*. Perhaps by contrast, or possibly because of a blending of the idea of *opening* with the thought of a *vein*, it came to signify *die, dead, corpse*, etc."¹ (Words in *italics* are different meanings of the same sign.) The explanation is rather far-fetched.

The sign from which the above sign comes is very often found in MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 14) and *passim*.  reads *ad* and means "death", "dead", "to die". It is a pictograph representing the funeral monument (the *stūpa* of the Sanskrit period) and the corpse under it. What appears to be an arrow is not an arrow. The sign for "arrow" in MD (photo, H.neg. 4782, No. 1) is , in PC . In MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 55) means one. Adding the determinative of personality to this

1. Barton, *op. cit.*, II, p. 37.

2. Cf. Harra, *Mohenjo Daro, the most Important Archaeological Site in India*, J. I. H., XVI, pp. 9-10

sign we have \uparrow (Marshall, M. D., No. 33) which reads *oruan*, "one person". The sign, therefore, represents a person under the funeral monument. This sign is already simplified in the MD period. It has two stages of simplification: ζ (Marshall, H., No. 23) and ζ (Marshall, M. D., No. 535), which signs show the tendency to eliminate the whole monument. Finally in Jn the sign has already become \leftarrow .² That this arrow-like sign is not originally an arrow, but *oruan*, may be clearly seen in MD, No. 344.

13. DWELL (To)

Ba (267) \square is explained as an irrigating wheel,¹ though it is difficult to explain many of the meanings of this sign, like "to dwell", "to take counsel", "to kill", "to strike down", "to divide", "to separate" as coming from the idea of "irrigation". In MD (Marshall, M. D., Pl. OXVII, No. 10) this sign is found in a three sign compound: \square . The meaning of the compounding elements are \star , *hi₂gawu*, "the headman"; \square *ma₂bu*, "door" or "gate" and \square , which is unknown as a simple sign, but which seems to be part of the wall surrounding the village or town.³ The whole sign therefore reads: *ma₂buhi₂gawu*, "the headman of the gate". It is well known that in ancient times the town elders used to decide cases and judge at the gate of the town.⁴ This is precisely the relation existing between the headman of the MD and the gate of the village. The Ba sign, therefore, originally represented the village gate only. The idea of "dwelling" within the village is easily represented by it. The meanings of "killing", "turning", "fighting of men", "wounding", "taking counsel", "strike down", "oppressing", "dividing", "separating", "seizing" "crushing" are associated with the idea of headman or judge. Even the personal pronoun "I" may also be easily explained for the headman on deciding a case probably gave his view by saying: "I, so and so, decide, etc."

14. END





\square in Ba (269) means, "end" among other things. It is evidently a derived meaning from the MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 16) \square or \square which read *šryu*, judgment, decree. Indeed the judgement or decree is the real "end" of the case,






1. Barton, op. cit., II, p. 149.

2. That such walls existed is known through the *Rigveda*, at least at a later period.


3. *Gen.* XXIII, 18.

15. EYE

A very interesting phenomenon occurs with this sign. As a general rule, as said above, the round lines of the original photographs which at times are still seen in Jn, little by little, disappear and become straight and angular lines. But in this case just the opposite happens. In Jn (182) we have the round and the angular forms  and . In Ur (185) it becomes still rounder  just as the physical organ represented by the sign. It once more becomes half straight in Ba (406) and it is not fully angular again till it becomes cuneiform. Barton says that four scholars "have all correctly explained the sign as the picture of an eye", and he adds: "The Egyptian (Cf. EAG 206, No. 10 and MHP 1, No. 82), and the Chinese (BOW No. 267) formed ideograms from the eye in analogous ways".¹ Nevertheless, the MD sign from which the Sumerian sign evidently proceeds, does not seem to be a photograph. It is always represented as a real arrow  (Marshall, M.D., No. 19 and *passim*). It reads *kop*, "eye", "to see", "vision". The word *kop* in Dravidian languages etymologically means "to pierce", and in a derived way "to see". The sign, therefore, is a phonetic sign, for an arrow is proper for piercing; it graphically represents the meaning of the sound. It passed to Jn as an arrow just as it was in Sumer. But in Sumer the original meaning of *kop* was long forgotten. An angular eye was after all not natural. They made it round, and then it became a photograph, which was finally angularised once more when it became cuneiform.






Ba (407) has still another sign that means "to see"  in which the sign for "eye" is compounded. This sign is also found in Ur (243) . This sign, as some scholars rightly say, is a compound of  and .² One of the meanings of the latter sign is "powerful" in Ba. This is the original meaning of the sign in MD (Marshall, H., No. 84) , which reads *val* and means "strong", "powerful". Therefore, this compound sign could read in MD *valkopa*, i. e., "strong eye", or "strong", "powerful vision" or "to see with great perfection", a connotation which is perhaps partly expressed in the following two meanings of this sign in Ba, "to recognise" and "to remember" which suppose something more than simple "seeing".

16. FATHER










In Ba (59)  reads *xup*, i. e. "father". This sign also means "leader", "prince". In Ur (126) the same sign also means




1. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

2. Cf. Barton, *op. cit.*, II, p. 212.

"father". In PC "father" is expressed by the sign: .²  seems also to mean "chief" in Sumerian.³ All these signs come from the MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 203)  which reads *teḡa*, "to lead". Applying the determinative of personality to this sign we shall have  or ,⁴ which read *uḡayan*, "leader" or "chief". From the idea of chiefhood or leadership, the idea of fatherhood naturally arose.

17. FIELDS

In Ba (119)  means "fields". In Ur (61) the sign meaning "fields" is similar to this, but has slight differences, , , , and . Some scholars explain the sign as an enclosure, others as irrigating ditches.⁵ The MD sign (Marshall, M.D., No. 311)  shows irrigating ditches only. It is interesting to notice that both in MD and in Ba there are five vertical strokes in the sign. The horizontal lines of the Ba and Ur signs seems to have come from a certain confusion with the sign that means "farmer", an occupation connected with fields. The Ur sign is very similar to the MD sign (Marshall, M.D., No. 96)  which reads *uḡayan* and means "farmer", which is evidently the original sign from which Ba (127)  proceeds. The latter besides meaning "farmer" means "luxuriant", "plantation", "irrigating instrument" which words directly refer to fields. It also means "prince" for the rulers both in Mohenjo Daro and in Sumer received the titles of *farmer*. Since the kings in those countries were besides priests, the sign also means "priest-king". In Jn (125) the sign for "plough"  includes also the sign for fields or farmer.

There is still another sign meaning "field" amongst many other meanings. It is in Ba (291) . The sign is also found in Fa (283) , though developed in an extraordinary way. In Jn, (387)  looks more like the Fa sign. Barton, speculating about the origin of this sign, says: "The origin of the sign is difficult to discover. When we first come upon it in Dco. pl. 1^{bis} it has passed into an adjectival meaning. Many of the above meanings are also abstract. It is clear that is a very


1. Ball, *Chinese and Sumerian*, Sign List, No. 27.

2. *Ibid.*
































3. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pl. I, No. 6 (Colombo, 1924); Heras, *Mohenjo Daro and its Inscriptions, Another site of the Indus Valley Culture*, St. Xavier's College Magazine, XXIX p. 103.

4. Cf. Barton, *op.cit.*, II, p. 66.




old and a much used sign. Probably it was a picture of a bit of brick wall."¹

The original sign is found in MD (Marshall, M.D., No 161)  phonetically reading *kalamalak* and meaning "field measure". It is a phonetic sign of the family of *kdl*, "quarter"². From the idea of "field measuring", it passed to mean "field" in general, and any other meaning which this sign has in Ba, like "as long as", "side", "cross over", "side of a field", "front", "high place", "deep", "boundary", "limit", "to surround", etc., proceed from the original meaning of "field measuring". Cf. Numerals, below.




18. FISH

The sign  of Ba (525) besides meaning "fish" has several other meanings indirectly derived from it". The sign is also found in Fa (347)  with an extraordinary angular development. In Jn (199)  is simpler and (200)  scarcely has the shape of a fish. Also in Jn (198) there are two fishes . The fish sign is one of the most common sign in MD, though often it does not stand for "fish" as such. There are three fish signs:  (Marshall, M.D., No. 458) *mīn*, the Fish (i.e. the Zodiacal constellation)  *mīn*, a star or a proper name;  or  which read also *mīn*, but represent an adjective "shining", "bright", "glittering", "illustrious", "splendorous". Other fish signs are also found in MD connected with additional signs for instance,  *mīn*  *mīn*, "in the fish" or  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn*  *mīn* *mīn*






20. Garden

In Fa (315)  stands for "garden". It is a pictograph, viz. two plants growing along a water course. The sign is also found in Jn (25): . The priority of the latter sign is clearly seen, even putting aside the fact that Jn is prior to Fa. The plants are three in Jn, while in Fa there are two, which shows the ordinary simplification of the sign. In MD (Marshall, H. No. 20) the sign  has four plants and four rivulets. In Dravidian languages *nāl* means "four" and also "many". The sign, therefore, means *many* rivulets and *many* plants, and therefore *lāla*, a garden. In Sumer the second meaning of four being unknown, they naturally were not particular about keeping four plants and rivulets. The former were reduced to three and the latter to two. Further on in Fa there were only two plants.



21. GARMENT

The sign for garment  is found both in Ur (385) and in Jn (390). It represents a spread piece of cloth, which was tied round the waist or over the left shoulder. In MD, the sign is the same:  (Ph. M.D., 28-29, No. 7061) or  (Marshall, M.D., No. 324).

22. GO (To)

Jn (83)  means "to go", "to walk". In MD (Marshall, H. No. 323f)  means *viḫ*, "to leave". A person who leaves necessarily must "go" and "walk". Therefore, these two are secondary meanings. The reason of the meaning of the Jn sign is not easily found. In MD there is a phonetic reason. The signs  or  or , of which we shall speak later, respectively represent "four", "three" or "six houses". Therefore they will read: *nālviḫ*, *mānviḫ*, or *ānviḫ*, for *viḫ* means "house". Therefore, the other sign turned to the opposite direction and so similar to these reads *viḫ*, "to leave". They are signs belonging to the same phonetic family: there are many similar phonetic families in the MD sign list.

23. GOD

Ba (13) gives  as an archaic sign meaning probably god *Ann*, who was supposed to be a prehistoric god in the Sumerian period.¹ Other signs of Ba (13) are  or cuneiform modifications

1. Cf. Radsu, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers*, p. 13 (Philadelphia)

of it. Yet the former sign of Ba is not the oldest form of this sign in Sumerian writing. In Fa (8) we find 𐎶 in a sort of cuneiform shape meaning "heaven", "high" and "god". With the meaning of "god" it is also found in Jn (33), but it is not used as a determinative of god.¹ In this sense it appears in Ur (6) for the first time. When the number of gods increased, it was found necessary to place this sign as a determinative before the names of gods in order to avoid confusion.

It is evident therefore that the sign originally meant "god" in general. Then it was used as a determinative keeping still its original meaning. Finally it was used only as a determinative. But what was the origin of this sign?

In MD the denomination of "god" in general is represented by this sign: 𐎶 (Marshall, M.D., No. 1), i.e. a being with four hands, more powerful than man, something beyond human nature, an idea expressed by the word *kadavul*. The sign sometimes takes this shape: 𐎶. In the tendency of the script to simplification the legs of this sign were finally marked as parting from the lower angles in continuation of the upper pair of arms, thus: 𐎶. Then turning the sign 90° to the left 𐎶, we have the Ur sign.

A similar thing happened with the sign of 𐎵 (Ph., M.D., 23-30, Dk, 8337) and 𐎵, 𐎵, the Supreme Being of MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 72): arms and legs were written in continuation as one stroke only thus: 𐎵, and this was the sign representing 𐎵 in Jn (a). Later on half the sign was suppressed and 𐎵 was represented by 𐎵.² In Chinese it kept the original form much longer: 𐎵, 𐎵, 𐎵, 𐎵 and the present Chinese sign 天.³

24. GREAT

The Ba (300) sign 𐎶— *gal*, "great", may be easily followed in Fa (164) 𐎶—, Ur (107) 𐎶— (which sometimes has 5 and at times 2 and 6 strokes) and Jn (84) 𐎶—, to MD 𐎶 or 𐎶 *pér*, "great". In MD the strokes are sometimes repeated twice, 𐎶 or 𐎶, *perper*, "very great".

25. HARVEST

In Jn (77) there is a sign without meaning 𐎶 which has its origin in MD (Marshall, M.D., Nos. 69, 175.). In MD 𐎶

1. Cf. Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

2. Bell, *op. cit.*, Sign list No. 2.

3. *Ibid.*

or 𒀭 read *arup* and mean "harvest". Once this sign is compounded with two other signs, thus: 𒀭𒂗𒀭 (Marshall, M.D., No. 548) which reads *arupani* "harvesters". Accordingly, in MD the above sign of Jn would read *arupaner*, i.e. "harvesters". Could this perhaps be the meaning of this sign?

26. HEART

The Fa (255) sign 𒂗 means "heart". Further developments of this are 𒂗𒀭 and 𒂗𒂗 (*ibid.*).¹ The former sign in MD means "in" or "within the house". From the idea of "being within", it naturally happened to mean "heart" when the system of grammatical determinatives of Mohenjo Daro was not continued in Sumer.²

27. HOUSE

This is a meaning expressed by a number of signs:

- (a) In Ba (147) the sign 𒂗 means "house". It shows the elevation or perhaps a section of a house. In MD the most common sign is 𒂗 (Marshall, M.D., No. 219); but 𒂗 is also found. The latter sign seems to be the immediate predecessor of the Ba sign.
- (b) In Jn two other signs mean "house" 𒂗 (357) and 𒂗 (372). If they are placed in an upright position thus: 𒂗 , 𒂗 , one easily realizes that they proceed from the MD 𒂗 .
- (c) The sign 𒂗 in Ba (353) means "totality" and also "the city of Eridu". In Ur the same sign (184) means "good" and 𒂗 stands for place. All these signs proceed from the MD sign 𒂗 which reads *ir* and means "house". From this idea we may easily pass to the idea of a city, of totality (a self-contained unity) or of goodness (for it is better to be in the house than outside).
- (d) In Jn (408) 𒂗 and 𒂗 occur very often in sheep lists, and are also found in Proto-Elamite script. This sign, as Prof. Langdon admits, "is characteristic of the Indus Valley Script".³ In MD it means a number of houses, for instance, 𒂗 *nāni*, "four houses", or 𒂗 *ariri*, "six houses". It may possibly

1. Cf. Thureau Dangin, *op. cit.*, No. 255.







2. Heras, *The Decipherment of the Mohenjo Daro Inscriptions*.

3. Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. vi.





have this meaning in Jn in connection with sheep, "houses of sheep", i.e. stables. This sign does not occur any more in other Sumerian documents.¹

- (e) In Ba (365) also means "house", but it also means "excavation", "hole", "pit", "cave". Very rightly does Mr. Ball remark that these meanings of the above sign seem to suggest that the primitive dwellings of the Sumerians were caves. But they could certainly not live in caves in Mesopotamia for the country is flat and without rocks, but caves were not infrequently inhabited even in the heyday of Mohenjo Daro as is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions.²

28. KID

In Ba (80)  stands for "kid", "lamb". More plain are the signs of Jn (2 and 3)  ,  and  , which mean "sheep". The first of the last three signs is also found in MD (Ph., M.D., 28-29, No. 7820) meaning sheep too. The other two read *uŕ*, "life". They are like the Egyptian  .³ In the early Ceylonese coins this sign is thus:  .⁴ The material similarity of the three signs and the formal similarity of their meanings, finally had made them all to mean "sheep" in Jn.

29. KNOW (TO)

In Ba (6)  reads *su* or *idá*, meaning "to know". In Ur (224)  means "to know", and according to Ball it means "to know specially" sexually. (Cf. *Mother*, the Ur sign of which is almost the same). It is of interest to note that a totally similar sign in Ur (222)  reads *da*, i.e. "to divide". Indeed in MD (Marshall, M.D., No 182)  reads *ari*, meaning "to know" and "to divide". The original meaning of the word and of the sign seems to have been "to divide", an action which is graphically expressed by the perpendicular line dividing the triangle, into two halves. A division brings distinction and knowledge. Hence in the original proto Dravidian language both meanings were expressed by the same word *ari*. Later the *r* of *ari*, "to know" was made guttural and the word is now written *ari*. These two meanings are found in Ur but not in Ba, during which period nevertheless the sign keeps the original shape of MD.








1. *Ibid.*

2. Cf. for instance, Marshall, *op. cit.*, M.D., 21, etc.




3. Naville *L'Écriture Égyptienne*, p. 72.

4. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pl. 1, No. 9, etc.







30. LIFE

Ba (91) has  meaning "life". In other cases, recorded *ibid.* there are five zig-zagging lines to right, instead of three. They seem to represent five rivulets  (cf. FIELDS). In MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 37) there are instead five strokes  which stand for *nāq*, fields, thus: , which represents  four (or many)  canals in  fields, which evidently are the source of "life", *da*. The sign for four or many is lost in Sumer and naturally the right line of the angle is made as long as the left one.






31. LIGHT.

In Jn (5)  stands for Light. This is the straightened shape of the MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 55)  which means "sun", *al*. The Egyptian hieroglyph for sun  is also a simplification of the MD sign.





32. LYRE

In Ur (29)  seems to be derived from (*ibid.*)  and is read *balap* which is a lyre, or a similar musical instrument. It evidently comes from the MD (Marshall, H. No. 335)  or  (Marshall, M. D., No. 40). The Fa (525) sign  or  which is probably given as bread, has very likely no other origin.

33. MAKE (To)


 is the sign of Ba (5) that means "to make", "to do" (*epšu*). In Jan (309)  or  mean "to create", "to make" (*gar*). In MD (compounded with another sign in Marshall, M.D., No. 129)  reads *ke*, "to make". In Chinese the sign standing for "making" or "doing" is .¹




34. MAN

In Ba (214) , among other meanings, means "man", "male" and "penis", the sign originally representing a phallus. There is still another sign in Ba (49)  meaning "man" in which the second element was "mountains" (or country. Cf. COUNTRY).² In Jn (42)  means "male", "penis". In MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 49) we find the original photograph of a phallus , viz. a solid pedestal with the phallus erected on top. This sign means only the phallus *esqis*, "lînga" as







1. Cf. Ball, *op. cit.*, sign list No. 4.




2. Cf. Barton, *op. cit.*, II, p. 23.

afterwards in Sanskrit; it never means the "penis" or "man" or "male". Such meanings were derived from the original one (The sign  of MD is not to be confused with the above one. It reads *paḍi*, "village").

Ba (129) has still another sign meaning "man" . It evidently represents the head of a man. In Jn (164, 165) the sign is found thus: . This sign has not its corresponding sign in MD. In MD the pictograph representing "man" is like the primitive way of depicting men on the rocks of the caves by prehistoric man: . The idea of drawing the close-up portrait-like picture of a man seems to be later. In Hittite script man is also represented this way.¹

35. MOUNTAINS

In Ba (227)  has 23 different meanings. Some scholars think that it represents a wedge. Barton maintains that it is the representation of a "peg", which is one of the meanings. From this idea, according to him, several other meanings have been derived. His surmise does not seem to be correct after the study of the Mohenjo Daro script. Putting this sign in an upright position, we shall have . This sign or the one similar to it  (Marshall, M. D. No. 66) read *ke* and mean "mountain", "excellence", "greatness", "height". Similar to this sign is MD (Marshall, M. D. No. 54)  which reads *maṭa*, "mountains" and which has been found in seal 259, U. 11426 of Ur.² Later on this sign was marked with curved lines thus:  or  on the punch marked coins of India³ and on the cast coins of India and Ceylon.⁴ Down to the times of the Vallabhis of Saurashtra this sign appeared on Indian coins.⁵

Similar development took place in Jn (170)  or simply in Ba (322)  or  which stand for caves and mountains. Ball pointedly remarks that "the character suggests that the Sumerian writing was not originally invented in Babylonia, which is not a hilly country, but in some mountainous region of the further East"⁶. In the MD inscriptions indeed very often mountains are being mentioned (Marshall, M. D. No. 20).

1. Hrozný, *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hieroglyphiques*, pp. 25, 28, 34, etc.

2. Woolley, *Ur Cemetery*, I, p. 365; II, pl. 210.






3. Cf. Prasad, *The Silver Punch-marked Coins*, pls. I and II.

4. Cf. Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pls. II, III, IV, etc.







5. Cochrington, *op. cit.*, pl. I.



6. Ball, *op. cit.*, pp. ix-x.



36. MIDDLE




Ur (62) has several signs which may be reduced to this: , the inner space being filled up with strokes or dots. It apparently means "to do", "to make", "to act"; but I cannot explain these meanings; unless they immediately refer to an "intervener" or "go-between", for the MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 253)  or  mean "middle". The PO  and the Chinese  also mean "middle".








37. NUMERALS

1. In Ur (Num. A)  means one. It is evident that the sign is the same as the MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 180) , *oreon*, "one person". The original meaning on account of the determinative of personality  being forgotten, (Cf. Person (one) and Death), it means "one" only in the early Ur period. In Jn the determinative of personality does not appear;  means "one"; but at the same time  also means "one". The latter remained the ordinary figure for numerals in Sumer. In MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 168)  is always "one", and also in PO.

2. In Jn (41)  means "two". The same sign with the same meaning is found in Fa (90). In MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 174) .

3.  means "three" in Jn (57) and Fa (133).  is the corresponding sign in MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 30).

4. In Fa (91)  stands for this numeral. A similar  is also found in MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 74); but sometimes also the sign  occurs. Yet this sign does not always mean "four". Sometimes it has a phonetic meaning, for *nál* means "four" and "good" in Dravidian languages.

5. Prof. Langdon has already noticed the similarity between the MD sign  (Marshall, M. D., No. 36) and the Sumerian sign , which finally becomes .  in Sumerian reads *šuš* and means one-sixth. The same sign means one-fifth in Elam. These fractions do not exist in Dravidian languages. Hence  only means "one-fourth", "a quarter". In point of fact  is one quarter of the circle: . It reads *kál* in MD, and phonetically it means, "foot", "stone", "forest",

1. Marshall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 443, Nos. 152 and 102.

2. Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'Écriture Cuneiforme*, No. 307.

"pillar", etc. This seems to be the original meaning of this sign, according to its geometrical significance. The other meanings of Elam and Sumer were given to the sign as a secondary meaning in relation to the system of reckoning of these countries. (The opposite sign of MD (should not be confused with the Sumerian and Elamite sign) . This sign in MD reads the opposite of *kal*, i.e. *lak* and means to "rise". With the sign) in MD innumerable phonetic combinations are formed, many of which were afterwards lost in Sumerian, for they could not be made in their modified language. Thus:

- 𐎶 *kalak*, "union"
- 𐎶𐎵 *kalalak*, "stone weapon"
- 𐎶𐎶𐎵 *kalamalak*, "fieldmeasure"
- 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎵 *akukalamalakula* "the grazing ground of the troubled union"

5. In Fa (135) 𐎶𐎶 and in Jn (65) stands for five. This is also practically always the sign meaning "five" in MD 𐎶𐎶 (Marshall, M.D., No. 157). The sign 𐎶𐎶 only once or twice means five (Marshall, M.D., No. 345). Otherwise they are the rivulets of cultivated lands, and therefore mean "fields", *naq*.

6. 𐎶𐎶 in Fa (134) and 𐎶 in MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 249). Only once it has a phonetic value, meaning "side". In Jn (65) it is marked thus: 𐎶𐎶 .

8. In MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 419) this numeral is expressed by 𐎶 *qis*, eight, which sometimes phonetically means "to reach". I have not come across this sign in Sumerian but it is found in PC thus: 𐎶 . It reads *pa*. In Jn (75) we find 𐎶𐎶 , which is not used as a numeral, but with phonetic value only. In MD 𐎶𐎶 meaning eight occurs only once or twice (Marshall, M.D., No. 71).

9. In Jn (64) and in MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 273) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 means nine.



38. OFFSPRING

In Ur (248) 𐎶𐎶 means "mother". The same sign is also found with curved lines in Ur (413): 𐎶𐎶 . In Jn (246) the sign is also similar: 𐎶 or 𐎶 . they mean "offspring". In MD (Ph., M.D., 28-29, No. 6837) the sign is more significant 𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶 . It means "offspring", "to produce". This seems to be the real pictograph, in which one or two stems are seen protruding from the central depression of the figure.




Ba (169) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 "prince", "king" is a compound sign of the above sign. The two elements are 𐎶𐎶 "great" and 𐎶𐎶

"offspring", "progeny". Literally, therefore the sign reads "great progeny", and therefore in a derived sense it means "king".








39. PALISADE

In MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 333)  means "palisade", "fence", *meṭa*. This sign is found placed between sheep in some early Sumerian seals: .¹



40. PLANTATION

In Ba (467)  means "a plantation". In Fa (365)  means "a garden". A similar unidentified sign is found in Ur (267). In MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 183)  reads *ṭa*, "garden", "plantation".

41. PRAYER






Among the early rare signs Ba (533)  is of special interest. It reads *ga*, meaning "request" and "prayer". It also reads *si*, or *siṭa* meaning a measure of capacity. Jn (301)  is the ancestor of the above sign. The corresponding sign in MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 540) is  which reads *kon*, "king", "lord". This idea naturally was the origin of the idea of "requesting" or "praying", an action which is done before the king. Moreover, requesting or praying is in order to obtain something. This something must therefore be possessed by the person prayed to. Hence the idea of "measure". It is therefore beyond all doubt that the meaning of the Jn and Ba periods are derived from the meaning of the MD sign. As regards the sign itself, the MD  is a compound of  *ke*, "mountain" and the determinative of personality: .  reads *kon*, king. Now this sign in Sumer still retains the additional determinative slightly changed in Jn, though the system of determinatives was not in vogue while the language itself was changed.












42. PRINCE

Ba (112)  can scarcely be recognised as a chair or a throne, and as such it means "high", "lord" or "king". In fact Barton does not want to recognise a chair in it, and thinks that the sign is a compound of two pictures  which he thinks to be a hand holding a sceptre (116) the other being a boat with sails.² As a matter of fact this blending of two signs does not seem to have taken place according to the opinion of scholars. When comparing this sign with its predecessors, one sees clearly that the sign is a chair. For though in Fa (530) the shape of the chair is






1. Woolley, *Sumerian Art*, pl. 67, c.

2. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

not easily discoverable, yet, in Ur (298) the original chair or throne clearly appears.  It reads *en*, "lord", "noble" "lordship". In Jn (317)  the chair is not so clear. It means the same. But in MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 544) the original pictograph  doubtlessly appears. Sometimes it appears in an abbreviated form thus:  (Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXVI, No. 22), *kwi*, "king", "prince" specially in compound signs like this:  *kwi/kwi*, the king of the *Kwi*'s.

There is still another sign in Ur (194)  which has the meaning of "authority", "superior" or "commanding" (Cf. Ur (195)), though the corresponding caneiform sign is not given by Fr. Burrows. This sign does not exist in MD, but its two components do exist in the MD script. In MD  read *kei* and means "to make" (Cf. To MAKE). If the perpendicular stroke of this sign is suppressed, we shall have , the phonetic value of which will be obtained by eliminating the initial consonant of *kei*.  therefore will read *ei*, which means "arm", "weapon" and particularly "arrow". The opposite sign  has not a different meaning in MD. Now in Ba (336)  means "a cutting instrument" and consequently "cutting" (origin of sign is uncertain according to Barton¹), while  means "to raise arms", "to fight" in Jn (270). Both meanings are developments of the original MD meaning. Therefore,  would mean "arms" in plural, and hence in a derived meaning any person having under him or her arms, or soldiers. In MD (Marshall, M.D., No. 426) we have the sign  which reads *shetor* and means "people holding arms". Ur (196) is very similar. It means "to protect", "to take", "to capture" in Ba (332) which are all effects caused by those who hold arms. Similar Ba (330)  which in MD would mean "people of arms", means "to oppress", "to trouble", "to destroy", "to ruin", "oppression", "fetter", etc., all meanings derived from the first MD meaning. Even the MD sign for "farmer" *u/avan*, which is used as a title of the kings, seems to come from .

43. PUDENDA

In Ba (9)  means "pudenda mulieris". Also in Ba (497)  means "pudenda", in general, and derivatively, "nakedness". In Fa (270)  also means "pudendum" with a special reference to men and animals. In Ur (397)  stands for "woman" and for anything that is "womanish". Also in Jn (302)  means "pudendum", "female", "woman". The origin

1. Barton, op. cit., II, p. 176.

of this sign seems to be the sign Δ which originally in MD means "half" and phonetically "to know"; this meaning was afterwards qualified "to know sexually", (Of. To KNOW) In MD there is no sign for *pudenda mulieris*. There is nevertheless a sign \sqcup (PL., M. D., 28-29, No. 6500) which reads *bayir*, i. e. "womb", "belly", "to be born". From this sign the Chinese sign 母 *mu*, "mother" seems to come.¹

44. QUEEN

In Ba (499) 𒌆 means "sister", "lady" and "princess". In Ur (401) 𒌆 stands for "a goddess". In Jn (305) 𒌆 means "queen". This is also the meaning of the MD (PL., M. D., 30-31, No. 12621*) sign 𒌆 (Of. Woman).

45. RAIN

In MD rain is expressed by the sign 𒀭 (Marshall, H., No. 76) which has its parallels in Chinese 𣶒 *yü* (modern Chinese 雨) and in Sumerian 𒀭 *a-ga*, "overflow", "flood". A similar sign is Sumerian 𒀭 *gig, ga*, means "dark", "black", "night". Also 𒀭 * Ba (380) 𒀭 means "dark", "darkness". It is evident that all these signs are inter-related and indeed darkness is always produced by a heavy rain. Therefore, the original sign was the sign for rain. The meaning of "darkness" seems to be a second or derived meaning. In MD (Marshall, M. D., No 1) there is a special sign for darkness, 𒀭 which sign was originally the same and was slightly modified by adding the sign of the "high sun" attached to the sky, in order to show that the sign does not mean "to rain", but a phenomenon related to light, i. e. "darkness".

46. STAR

Ba (13) 𒀭 means "star". It is absolutely like the sign or determinative of god, though apparently in the beginning they were different. Elsewhere we have explained the origin of the determinative of god (Of. GOD). In MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 79) star is expressed by the sign 𒀭 *min*, for in Dravidian languages both "fish" and "star" proceed from the root *min*, "to glitter". Perhaps later on the sign 𒀭 was marked thus: 𒀭 and afterwards the other two lines were added, while the lines





1. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

2. Ball, *op. cit.* p. 28 and Sign List, No. 69.



representing the fish were omitted as having no meaning at all in Sumerian.

But besides, this Sumerian sign for star also means "ear of corn". Barton says that the reason of this meaning may be because the ear of corn "was the symbol of the god Nidaba"¹. If that were so symbols of other gods would also be meant by this sign. In point of fact the reason should also be looked for in MD, where the "ear of corn" also means "ray of light", "illustrious" (Marshall, M. D., No. 143) for both ideas are expressed by the word *kadīr* in Dravidian languages. Since the star has ray of light and lustre, it also finally became to mean "ear of corn".



47. STATUE

In Ur (90)  means "statue". In *U* sealing of Ur (*ibid*) the sign is simpler and more primitive:  Sumeriologists cannot easily explain this sign. This sign does not exist in MD. Yet its two compounding elements exist there.  means "to see" or "vision", and the sign  means "a person". The sign therefore literally means: the vision (or appearance) of a person, i.e. a statue. The sign is doubled, for plural of majesty was always used for prominent persons and statues were certainly not made of ordinary people, but only of kings, governors, priests, etc.



48. STONE (Inscribed)

In Ba (71)  means stone. The same sign is used in Jn (6). In MD the sign is absolutely the same, but turned to the other side. This position does not seem to be the original one. For the natural position would be  being a pillar and the inscription erected on top of it. This sign, as well as others, shows that there was an earlier stage in MD writing.






49. STRAIGHT (To be)

In the Jn period (18)  means "to be straight". In its vertical original position  is found in MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 16).










50. STRONG

The Jn (144)  reading *tuš* has a number of meanings. "One who throws down or overthrows mountains, buildings, etc.", "man", "male", "strong drink", etc. In MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 84), the sign  reads *uāš*, i.e. "strong". Evidently, all the







1. Barton, *op. cit.* p. 13.

above meanings are derived from this. This sign is found in some compound signs, for instance,  *valil*, "strong house", i.e. "fort";  *vallet*, "to make strong", "to strengthen" and  *valal* "strong man". Also in MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 404) this sign is found with the little addition which always reads *il* placed inside it, thus: , which reads *valil*, i.e. "not strong", and therefore, "weak". In Sumer the sign is found in a simplified way: . Also in Ba (527). This evident origin of the sign shows that the explanation of Barton¹ that it represented originally the setting sun is not correct.



51. SUN

Ba (337) means  "sun", "day", "bright". All Assyriologists agree that this sign originated in a picture of the rising sun.² The original picture removing the angles of the later script, should be . In Ur (197)  also means "sun" and "light". But in Ur (178) we find already , which is a sign half angular and half round. The fully round form  is found in Jn (171), though the angular form is also found. It means "sun", "light" and also "day". The sign  in MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 145) means "the waning moon"; while the opposite  stands for the "waxing moon". Since the period of the waning moon is the period during which light increases, the sign afterwards happened to mean "light" and consequently "sun". It may be noticed that the original signs  and  are still used in some modern calendars with exactly the same meaning as in the MD period.

52. TEMPLE

In Ba (301)  means "sanctuary", "something set apart".  also has a religious significance. It stands for a "periodical festival". A similar sign  means "the place of a festival" in Ur (298). In Jn (354) we have  and . And in MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 237)  *kevil*, "temple", which evidently is a pictograph of a house to which all the streets lead. Such a house could only be the temple which was usually built in the centre of the cities. All the other meanings are derived.

53. THINK (To)

Ba (77c)  means "to think", "to remember", "to understand". The corresponding MD sign is , which means "to

1. Ball, *op. cit.*, Sign List, No. 42.

2. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

3. Cf. Barton, *op. cit.*, II, p. 178.

think", "to meditate", "to calculate", "to count". In Egyptian 𓂏 means "to calculate". But this sign in Ba (*ibid*) also means "road" which meaning is not easily explained. Apparently, in the Ba sign two signs have been amalgamated: one is 𓂏 "to think" and other 𓂏 , which is also found in MD (Marshall, M. D., No. 418) 𓂏 and reads *adir*, i. e., "road", "path".

54. WAGON

In Jn (368) 𓂏 means "wagon". It is a house drawn by animals (Cf. HOUSE). In MD "wagon" is 𓂏 (Marshall, H., No. 94).

55. WOOD

In Ba (258) 𓂏 means a "piece of wood". Thus in Jn (405) 𓂏 or 𓂏 stand for wooden objects. In MD (Marshall, H., No. 105), 𓂏𓂏𓂏 are logs of wood.

The cases of script development explained in the preceding pages cannot be mere coincidences, for they are too many and too striking for being so. On many occasions the Sumeriologists cannot explain the reason of the meaning of some signs and this may be explained perfectly well after knowing the MD list of signs. The explanation is occasionally phonetic, at times also pictographic. There cannot be any doubt at present that the greatest number of signs of the Sumerian script owe their origin to the Mohenjo Daro writing.

Prof. Hall after studying the Sumerian and Chinese affinities in respective scripts of these two nations, suggests that perhaps the Chinese and Sumerians came from an original stock in Central Asia.¹ We have also referred to *en passant* to some Chinese similarities. From the premises exposed hitherto we do not dare to draw any ethnographical conclusion. But this certainly do we state that both the Sumerian and Chinese writing proceed at least in their greatest portion from the Mohenjo Daro script of the Proto Indian people.

H. HERAS, S.J.

1. Barton *op. cit.*, p. x, note 1.

THE STHĀNIKAS AND THEIR HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

1. ANTIQUITY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE OFFICE OF STHĀNIKA

The earliest historical mention of the importance of the Sthānikas is in the *Arthashastra* of Kaṭilya. Whatever may be the use to which the root *sthā* (denoting place, position, station, etc.), from which is derived the word *sthānika*, is put by classical writers,¹ it is only when we come to the time of Kaṭilya (321-300 B. C.) that we have definite evidence of the important position held by the Sthānikas in the civil administration of the State. Kaṭilya uses the words *sthāna*, *sthāniya*, and *sthānika* in different contexts, but generally in connection with an office or place. The word *sthāna* is used by him while explaining the question of war and peace and neutrality, thus:—“*Sthāna* (keeping quiet), *śānta* (withdrawal from hostility), and *upekṣana* (negligence) are synonymous with the word *śānta* (neutrality).”²

This, however, is not the primary meaning of the words *sthāna* and *sthānika*. Kaṭilya speaks of a *sthāniya* in the sense of a fortress. “There shall be set up a *sthāniya* (a fortress of that name) in the centre of eight hundred villages, a *droṇamukha* in the centre of four hundred villages, a *kāśṭhāṇika* in the centre of two hundred villages, and a *sanghrahana* in the midst of a collection of ten villages.”³

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1. Mr. N. S. Shiva Rao of Futur (S. K.), whose interesting paper in *Kannada*, entitled *Sthānika-prajñāna*, a copy of which is with me, gives some examples of the use of the root *sthā* (which with the tense *jan* and the suffix *jan* gives us the word *sthānika*) from early times, e. g., *Ep Peda* (manjula 1, ad. 2, sūtra 7), *Setapatha Brāhmaṇa* (pr. 1, va. 1) Pāṇini, *Amarasimha*, *Halāyudha*, etc. While these examples no doubt establish beyond doubt the use of the word *sthāna* in contexts denoting position, place, dignity, etc., they do not help us to elucidate the position held by the Sthānikas in the Hindu State. This part of Mr. Shiva Rao's paper shows signs of much industry, but the latter part is devoid of any historical value. E.A.S.
 2. I am aware of the fact that some scholars would place Kaṭilya's work anywhere between the second and sixth century A.D.—E.A.S.
 3. Kaṭilya, *Arthashastra*, Bk. II. Ch. I. 46, p. 44. (Shama Sastry's ed. 1924)

Perhaps Kaṭṭāya uses the word *sthānīya* here in the sense it was used by Mann, who tells us that the word *sthānaka* means "the pickets of soldiers commanded by a trusted officer placed in the midst of two, three, five, or hundred villages."⁴ Both Manu and Kaṭṭāya, therefore, are inclined to associate the words *sthānaka*, *sthānīya*, with an important office, but attached to the military department.

Indeed, Kaṭṭāya further associates the word *sthānīya* with a prominent civil office as well, as is shown in the following context:—"In the cities of *sangrahaṇa*, *droṇāmukha*, and *sthānīya*, and at places where districts meet, three members acquainted with Sacred Law (*dharmaśāstra*) and three ministers of the king (*amātyas*) shall carry on the administration of justice."⁵

This is not all. The most conclusive proof of the official status of a *sthānīka* is seen in those passages in the *Arthashastra* in which a *sthānīka* is always classed together with a *Gopa*, both being endowed with definite civil and criminal duties. Thus, for instance, while dealing with the formation of villages, Kaṭṭāya states the following:—"Superintendents, accountants, *Gopas*, *sthānīkas*, veterinary surgeons (*anīkashāstas*), physicians, horse-trainers, and messengers shall also be endowed with lands, which they shall have no right to alienate by sale or mortgage."⁶

The duties of the officials called *Gopa* and *sthānīka* are enumerated thus in the *Arthashastra*:—"It is the duty of *gopa*, village accountant, to attend to the accountant of five or ten villages, as ordered by the Collector-General"⁷. This does not end the work of the *Gopa*. He was to set up the boundaries of villages, number plots of grounds as cultivated, uncultivated, plains, wet lands, gardens, vegetable gardens, fences, forests, altars, pasture grounds, roads, register gifts, sales, charities, remission of taxes, and he was to number houses as tax-paying and non-tax-paying, and do quite a lot of work pertaining to the sphere of the Revenue Collectors.⁸

Turning to the *sthānīkas* we find the following in the *Arthashastra*:—"Likewise (*i. e.*, like a *Gopa*) *sthānīka*, district officer, shall attend to the accounts of one-quarter of the kingdom."⁹

4. Mann, VII 114, p. 234. (S.R.E.)

5. Kaṭṭāya, *ibid.*, Bk. III. Ch. I. 148, p. 167.

6. *Ibid.*, Bk. II. Ch. I. 47, p. 46.

7. Kaṭṭāya, *op. cit.*, Bk. II. Ch. XXXV. 142, p. 158.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

Then, again, in a later context Kaṭalya classifies the Gopas and the Sthānikas thus:—"A Gopa shall keep the accounts of ten households, twenty households, or forty households. He shall not only know the caste, *gotra*, the name, and occupation of both men and women in those households, but also ascertain their income and expenditure".¹⁰

The Sthānikas and the Gopas were to be in direct touch with the Manager of Charitable Institutions. "The Managers of Charitable Institutions shall send information (to Gopa or Sthānika) as to any heretics (*pāṣaṇḍa*) and travellers arriving to reside therein."¹¹

But the State did not give unlimited authority to the Gopas and the Sthānikas; nor did it completely trust them in financial matters. This accounts for the fact that supervisors and spies were placed over the Gopas and the Sthānikas. In one context while dwelling on the duties of the Revenue Collectors,—such as the Gopas and the Sthānikas essentially were,—Kaṭalya lays down the following:—"In those places which are under the jurisdiction of Gopa and Sthānika, Commissioners (*pradeśprāh*) specially deputed by the Collector-General shall not only inspect the work done and means employed by the village (Gopa) and district (Sthānika) officers, but also collect the special religious tax as *baḥi* (*baḥi pragraham kuryuḥ*)."¹²

Then immediately afterwards Kaṭalya says that "Spies, under the guise of householders (*grhastika*, cultivators), who shall be deputed by the Collector-General for espionage, shall ascertain the validity of the accounts (of the villa Gopa and district [Sthānika] officers) regarding the fields, houses, and families of each village, the area and output of produce regarding fields, right of ownership and remission of taxes with regard to houses and the caste and profession regarding families."¹³

Under the *pradeśprāh* or Commissioners, the Gopas and the Sthānikas had to do the policing of the country as well. For Kaṭalya informs us that "A Commissioner with his retinue of Gopas and Sthānikas shall take steps to find out external thieves; and the officer in charge of a city (*nāgaraka*) shall, under the circumstances sketched above, try to detect internal thieves inside fortified towns."¹⁴

10. *Ibid.* Bk. II. Ch. XXXVI. p. 160.

11. Kaṭalya, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

12. *Ibid.* p. 169.

13. *Ibid.* p. 169.

14. *Ibid.* Bk. IV. Ch. VI. 217, pp. 244-245. It is in this sense of a protector that the word *Gopī* is used in the Junagadh inscription of

The conclusion deducible from the above statements in the *Arthashastra* are the following:-

1. That a Sthanika, like his colleague Gopa, was always entrusted with an important office in the civil administration;
2. That he was generally a District Officer;¹⁵
3. That his duties were generally those pertaining to the collection of revenue;
4. That sometimes in the capacity of a District Officer he had to do the work of a police officer as well; and
5. That Commissioners were most often placed over both the Gopas and the Sthanikas.

While, therefore, the official status of a Sthanika is thus proved beyond doubt in the *Arthashastra*, nowhere is the word Sthanika ever associated with a community or a caste. What is more important is that Kaṭalya does not make Sthanikas exclusive managers and trustees of temples and temple lands. Moreover, there is another detail mentioned above to which attention may be drawn. Kaṭalya explicitly states that, as we have seen just now, the Sthanikas and the Gopas, were to be endowed with lands, but that these lands could not be alienated or mortgaged by them.

In these two details, viz., that pertaining to the alienation of endowed lands by sale or mortgage, and that relating to the exclusively revenue character of the Sthanikas, later historical practice completely transgressed earlier legal precept. The association of a Sthanika with an important office continued to exist ages after Kaṭalya; but whereas formerly a Sthanika was connected with the collection of revenue, in later historical times, a Sthanika was entrusted more with the managership of the lands around temples and with similar duties of trustees which were not entirely devoid of a financial tinge. This was inevitable in the course of the evolution of the Hindu State. For both the Hindu State and society had considerably altered since the days of Kaṭalya; and with the ever-growing demands of the State, need was naturally felt for appointing separate officials to look after the revenue (and police) work, while the Sthanikas were charged with the duty of controlling temples, temple lands, and the like. But whether in the age

Skandagupta (5th century A.D.)—"sarveṣu deśeṣu viśāḥya goṣṭrīn asāntapāṇḍān." Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Gupta Ins.*, pp. 59, 62.

15. The Sthanika or District Officer is to be distinguished from the Chief of a District (*viśāḥyaka*) mentioned by Kaṭalya in a later context *Ibid* Ek. IX. Ch. III. 347, p. 375.

of Kaṇṭhya or in later times, the Sthānikas never formed a caste or community by themselves. Indeed, Kaṇṭhya does not tell us anywhere to which community the Sthānikas belonged. For to him they were merely officials recruited evidently from the highest classes of society. It seems to us that it was only in our own times that the Sthānikas were classified under the denomination of a caste, more by the machinations of those who were divided from the Sthānikas by religious tenets, rather than by any conscious and deliberate attempt on the part of the Sthānikas to style themselves as a caste. To understand the validity of our statement, we shall review the position of the Sthānikas in later times, basing our remarks mostly on the innumerable stone and copper-plate inscriptions, the value of which can never be over-estimated, supplemented to some extent by notices of Sthānikas in literature.

2. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE STHĀNIKAS AND OTHERS CONNECTED WITH TEMPLES

But before we proceed to cite epigraphic and literary evidence in regard to the position of the Sthānikas, it is desirable that we should differentiate the Sthānikas from others who held similar positions but without the powers and privileges of the former. These others were the Goravas, the Tammaḍigaḷ, the Śaiva temple servants, the Nambis, and others about whose duties and inferior position in Hindu society we have ample evidence in epigraphs.

(a) THE GORAVAS WERE NOT THE SAME AS STHĀNIKAS

The word Gorava or Gorava is a *śuddhama* of the Skt. *guru + āḍi* meaning the Foot used in the honorific sense like *pāda* in Sanskrit.¹⁶ The idea underlying the word Gorava, therefore, seems to be the following—That a Gorava was one who was "at the feet of the Guru or Lord" in a temple. This meaning is by no means identical with that of the word Sthānika which, as we have seen, connotes dignity, office, place, etc. However, the position held by Goravas and Sthānikas sometimes coincided. The earliest reference to the Goravar is in one of the Śambhukallu temple stone inscriptions found at Udayāvara, the ancient capital of the Ālupas in Tuluva (mod. South Kanara). We have fully described the importance of this record while delineating the history of the Tuluva country. The last two lines of this record

16. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, II. No. 5, p. 3, and *ibid.*, p. n. (1)

end thus—*Sakala-Sri-ālgai Goravar*. These Goravars, therefore, who were at the feet of the Lord (*Sri-ālgai*) of the temple of Udayāvara, had already become well known in the reign of the Ālupa king Mārama Ālvarasār, who reigned in A. D. 575.¹⁷

The Goravars are also mentioned in inscriptions found at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa. These records have been assigned to A.D. 700. One inscription relates that Tīrthada Goravaḍigal (or the Goravar, *guru* of the *tīrtha* or holy place), having observed the vow (ended his life). Another records the same fact concerning Uḷḷikāl-goravaḍigal of the same date.¹⁸ A third epigraph also of the same date relates that Guṇasena Guravar of Kōṭṭara, the disciple of Moni (Mauni?) Guravar of Agai died in the orthodox manner.¹⁹ And a fourth one assigned also to the same date records the death of Dhaṇṇakutāreṇi Guravi, the female disciple of Perumaḷu Guravaḍigal.²⁰

From the above records the following conclusions may be drawn:—First, the word Goravar was connected with a *tīrtha* or a holy place. Secondly, females obviously "at the feet of the Lord" in such holy places, were called Guraveis. And, finally, the term Goravar, or Guravar, was applied to Jains as well, as the name Guṇasena Guravar clearly proves.

Of these the first conclusion concerning the association of a *tīrtha* with a Goravar is borne out by later records, one of which (dated Śaka 572 = A. D. 949-950) asserts that the Goravars managed the *sthāna*.²¹ This is further substantiated by another inscription dated A. D. 814 which makes a Gorava ruler of a *sthāna*.²² In an inscription dated A. D. 950 a Goravar is made the manager of a temple.²³ These facts, it may be presumed, are sufficient to justify the identity of the Goravars with the *sthānikas*.

But on a closer examination this identity vanishes. It is true that so far "ruling a *sthāna*" was concerned, both the Goravars and the *sthānikas* held an identical office. Both were priests (attached mostly to Śaiva temples), and both were concerned with

17. Salletore, *Ancient Karnataka* I. pp. 82, 176, 385.

18. E. C. II. p. 3.

19. *Ibid.*, No. 6, p. 3.

20. & 21. E. C. II. nos. 7-8, p. 3.

22. *Epigraphia Indica*, VI. p. 66, and *Ibid.*, n. (7)

23. *Ibid.*, VII. p. 200 seq.

24. E. C. III. Md. 41, p. 42. For other examples, see E. I., XII. p. 290; *Indian Antiquary*, XIX, p. 271; E. I., XIX, p. 160; E. C. IX, Hb. 110, p. 112.

duties pertaining to temples. But throughout Kārṇāṭaka history the Goravars have never been confounded with the Sthānikas. In the first place, these latter, as we shall prove later on in the course of this paper, had definite social status which was denied to the Goravars. Secondly, while the Goravars no doubt were, like the Sthānikas, sometimes said to "rule a *sthāna*", they were never entrusted with elaborate duties concerning the ownership of lands which were associated only with the Sthānikas. And, finally, the State in Kārṇāṭaka, especially in the fourteenth century and after, invariably assigned to the Sthānikas a place in the civil administration of the country which was never given to the Goravars. These considerations, therefore, make it impossible for us to identify the Goravars with the Sthānikas.²⁵

As to how the Goravars came to claim the lordship of *sthānas*, it is not possible to say at the present stage of historical research. We can only suggest, however, that in the early days of struggle between Brahmanism and its rival creeds like Buddhism and Jainism—the leaders and priests of which were certainly not always drawn from the Brahman community—, those associated with the ownership of holy places, on the decline of the non-Brahmanic religions in the early centuries of the Christian era, naturally became "the rulers of the *sthānas*", when these latter passed into the hands of the Hindus. Such transference of office is not unknown to the history of southern and western India. We shall see later on in the course of this paper, that the Sthānikas themselves in comparatively recent times were dispossessed of their rights, privileges, and lands by their rivals the Vaiṣṇavites in certain parts of southern India. And we have shown elsewhere that the Jains were driven from the predominant position they had held in western India, their *basadis* having been converted into Hindu temples, and in some instances, the pedestals of Jaina images being used for Hindu gods!²⁶ It is not improbable, therefore, that in the early ages when Hinduism succeeded in ousting rival religions, the priests of the latter, on their promising allegiance to the Hindu gods, were permitted to continue as "rulers of *sthānas*", which had definitely passed into the hands of the Hindus. These are no doubt conjectures; but what appears certain is that, notwithstanding the identity of the office of "rulers of the *sthānas*" which the Goravars and the Sthānikas held, these

25. In view of these facts, my identification of the Goravars with the Sthānikas (*A. K.* I pp. 80, 90, n (1), 385) is to be rectified.—B.A.S.

26. Read my *Medieval Jainism*, Bombay.

latter were never considered to be the former, especially in Karnāṭaka and the Tamil land where, as numerous epigraphs amply prove, the Sthānikas had definite duties, privileges, and powers which were never given to the Goravara.²⁷

(b) THE STHĀNIKAS WERE NOT THE SAME
AS THE TAMMAḌIGAL

There is another class of minor temple servants whose position outwardly resembled that of the Sthānikas. These were the Tammaḍigal or attendants on the temple images. The term Tammaḍigal, like the term Gorava, is of some antiquity. Two stone records found at Kammarahalli, Gundlupet taluka, Mysore State, and assigned by Rice to A.D. 750, speak of Guṇasagara Tammaḍi of Āralūr-gaṇavāl, to whom the Twelve (representatives) of Āralūr made over certain grants of villages (named).²⁸

It seems as if we are to infer from the above example that a Tammaḍigal, like a Gorava and a Sthānika, was "a ruler of the *sthāna*". But there is definite evidence to prove that the Tammaḍigal were not the same as the Sthānikas. The Maṅganahalli stone inscription, Chennappaṭṭaṇṇa taluka, Mysore State, dated A.D. 1318, is of particular importance in this connection. It falls within the reign of the last great Hoysala ruler Virā Ballala III. His House-minister (*maneya pradhāna*) the Mahāmāṇḍa-lēvara Somarasa granted Mugulanahalli in Kelavalanāḍ to Cīṭṭari Bela Seṭṭi and Maṇṇa Seṭṭi by means of a stone *śāstana*. The *śāstana* was as follows:—That in Mugulanahalli (evidently the same as that mentioned above) if there is a Tammaḍi, the elder brother's property will go to the younger brother, and the younger brother's property to the elder brother. If there is no elder or younger brother, the nearest relatives and children by the female servants will have the chief claim. If there are none such, the childless one's cattle will be given to the temple. If there is no provision (required) for a Tammaḍi, without payments (specified) or any others, free of all imposts, a fair will be established in that Mugulanahalli as a city for the Nānādeśis, to continue in perpetuity.²⁹

27. The Goravars are commonly supposed to be Śūdra priests. Banerjee, *Prohistoric and Ancient India*, p. 37; *History of Orissa*, I, p. 239. Havell connects Ghāṣapuri (and the name for Elephanta) with the Goravars. *Ancient and Medieval Architecture*, p. 187. I found Goravars in and around the well known temple at Ālandi, near Poona, still claiming that they were the original masters of that temple.—B. A. S.

28. E. G. IV. Ga. 88, 89, p. 80.

29. *Ibid.* IX. Cp. 73, p. 146.

Although it is not clear what precisely is meant by the last statement relating to the establishment of a city for the merchant-guilds called the *Nānādeśis*, yet it is evident from the above regulations pertaining to the law of inheritance among the *Tammaḍigal*, that these were classed among the (female) servants of a temple a position which was never given to the *Sthānikas* in any period of Indian history. There is one more consideration which may be noted here. The above order was passed during the reign of king *Vira Ballala III*. Now as we shall show in a later context, that monarch as well as his great officers knew very well the importance of the *Sthānikas* in the *Hoysala* Empire. The fact that in the *Māṅgahallī* stone inscription the *Tammaḍigal* are not confounded with the *Sthānikas* is very significant. It shows that in the fourteenth century A.D. the *Sthānikas* enjoyed powers and privileges which the *Tammaḍigal* were denied. For the *Tammaḍigal* were of the same inferior position in a temple as the *Paḍiyālār*, *Dēvarāḍiyār*, and *Iṣabhattaliyār*, who were to be found, for instance, in the southern temples like those at *Tiruvoggiyūr*.³⁰

(c) THE STHĀNIKAS WERE NOT TEMPLE SERVANTS

There were other temple servants called variously *Śiva Brahmana*, *Jryas*, or *Jrysangula*, *Pūjāris*, *Nambis*, and quite a number of others. The *Sthānikas* cannot be classed with any of these servants of an inferior position. The numerous temple servants are mentioned in stone inscriptions concerning the State regulations of the southern Coja monarchs. One such record dated about A.D. 1071 of the reign of the king *Raja Raja*, contains allotments of allowances to an army of temple servants among whom the *Sthānikas* do not figure.³¹

The *Śiva Brahmanas* were distinct from the *Sthānikas*. We have many epigraphs which contain details about the status and duties of the *Śiva Brahmanas*. The *Maḍivāḷa Pārvaṭi* temple inscription, *Boweringpet* *ślōka*, *Mysore State*, dated A.D. 1228, deals with the *Śiva Brahmanas*. It is related in this inscription that three *Śiva Brahmanas* (who are named, their *gotras* being *Gautama* and *Bharadvāja*), having received six *poṇḍ*, pledged themselves to provide a daily offering of one *nāḷi* of rice in

30. Read *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle for 1913*, p. 127, for the specific duties of this class of temple servants. In an undated inscription found in the *Rāṇolavara* temple at *Hebbastūr*, *Yedatore* *ślōka*, *Mysore State*, *Kāva Tammaḍi* of *Marilla* (descent stated) is mentioned in connection with the building a temple by the *Ēḷkoḷi* *Dēsa*. *E.C.* IV. Yd. 44, p. 68).

31. *E.C.* X. Kl. 106 (d), p. 32; See also Kl. 108, of A.D. 1071, pp. 26-27,

perpetuity, from the interest of the above sum (*vis.*, six *poṭṭ*), granted by Tantripālan, one of the king's servants, for the goddess Pārvatī. This was in the reign of the king Jayangonda Śoḷa Ilavaṇṇiya Rāyan.³²

Another record also found in the same place and falling within the reign of the same Tamil ruler, but dated A. D. 1231, contains the following:—That the same royal servant Tantripālan (descent stated) granted one perpetual lamp to be burnt at the *śrugguṇṇakkaḍai* within the temple of Svayambhū-Nayanār, and as a fund for maintaining it gave nine *poṭṭ*. And the Śiva Brahmins (three named with their *gotras*) of the temple, having received the above sum, pledged themselves to burn the lamp in perpetuity.³³

One more stone record refers to the same temple of Svayambhū-Nayanār, who is called in this inscription Śeyambhū Nayakar. This epigraph is dated A. D. 1261. In it we are told that Śeyambhū Nayakar (descent stated) granted certain specified lands to provide for the daily offerings of rice (specified) and for two twilight lamps in the same temple. This charity was made over to three Śiva Brahmins (named) of the temple who pledged themselves to conduct the charity.³⁴

In the reign of the same Tamil monarch, Sejjalvai, the daughter of *Brahmaḍḍērāja* Śeļvaṇḍai and consort of Śiruvaseḍavar, who was the son of the king Jayangonda Śoḷa Ilavaṇṇiya Rāyan, granted one perpetual lamp for the god Svayambhū Nayanār, and gave ten *poṭṭ* for its perpetual maintenance. Three Śiva Brahmins (named with their *gotras* Gautama and Bharadvāja) received the ten *poṭṭ*, and pledged themselves to maintain the perpetual lamp, from the interest on the sum at the rate of one *pāgam* (cf. *hāga* in Kannaḍa) on each *poṭṭ*.³⁵

What precisely was the position which the Śiva Brahmins held in the temple organization of those days is shown by another stone inscription also of the reign of the same Tamil king Jayangonda Śoḷa Ilavaṇṇiya Rāyan. It is dated about A. D. 1280. This ruler had built the temple of Jayambhū-Nayakar (Svayambhū Nayanār?), which he had richly endowed with gifts of lands together with provision for the maintenance of the

32. E. C. X. Ep. 37 (a), p. 145.

33. *Ibid.*, Ep. 35 (a), p. 144.

34. *Ibid.*, Ep. 38 (b), pp. 146-147.

35. *Ibid.*, Ep. 32, p. 143.

following fifty-two families of temple servants, who had to perform various duties in the temple. The fifty-two families were as follows:- four Śiva Brahmans including the Śaivacāriyin, five drummers including the dancing master, twenty-four dancing girls, one singer of the *Tiruppadiyam* (Tamil hymns in praise of Śiva), one stage manager to have the sacred drama acted, twelve families of Brahmans for repeating prayers... and for conducting services, one gardener for the temple gardens, two families of potters, and one temple accountant.³⁵

A few more instances will enable us to determine the position of the Śiva Brahmans in society. Veṭṭumappāra Baṇan, the son of Uṭama Śeṣa Gaṅgan Vira Gaṅgan, the supreme lord of the city of Kuvalāṭa, and a descendant of the Gaṅga family, (with other titles), granted in about A.D. 1280 certain specified lands to provide for the offerings (named) in the temple of Tattāvaram-Uḍaiya-Nāyanār at Perikundam in Kuvalāṭanāḍu. He also granted some taxes (named) to the Śiva Brahmans and the other servants of the temple (*ikkōyilil Śiva Brahmaṇaṅkaḥum nimaṇḍakāṅkaḥum* etc.)³⁷ It may be observed here that the Śthānikas are not classed among the temple servants in the above inscriptions.

Five years later (A. D. 1285) three Śiva Brahmans (named with their *gotras* which were Gautama and Bharadvāja) of the same Svayambhū Nāyanār pledged themselves to supply perpetually a specified quantity of rice for the offerings of the god, out of the interest on the sum of four *poṇ* given by Vayirāṇḍai, the son of one of the Vellāḷa residents of Pōḍavar in Ilavāṇḍināḍ, at the rate of one *pāḍu* per month on each *poṇ*.³⁸ In the same year (A. D. 1285) the Śiva Brahmans of the same temple pledged themselves to burn a perpetual lamp from the interest on four *poṇam* which had been given as a gift by Śiṟu-nāyan, the son of Vāṇakkirai Uḍaiyar Śokka Nāyan, the lord of the city of Kañci.³⁹

The Śiva Brahmans had, therefore, the following duties to perform:- They provided for daily offerings in a temple; they pledged themselves to burn perpetual lamps, to conduct charities given by princes and peoples; and to supply specified offerings of rice for gods in temples. There is one fact in the above

35. E. A. X. Ep. 38 (a), p. 146.

37. *Ibid.*, Ep. 35, p. 149. Cf. *ibid.*, IV. Ng. 38 dated A. D. 1284 where the Śthānikas are not included among the temple servants. P. 122.

38. *Ibid.*, X. Ep. 29, p. 142.

39. *Ibid.*, Ep. 30, p. 142.

epigraphs which stamps the Śiva Brahmans as temple servants of an inferior nature. In one of the records cited above they are classed together with the dancing master, dancing girls, potters, and the like, thereby proving that they were of the same low social rank as these latter temple servants. The Sthanikas, as we shall see, were decidedly of higher and more respectable status.

We may add here that the term *Jiya*, which was one of respect, was applied to the Sthanikas as well as to other higher priests in temples, as in about A.D. 1216.⁴⁰ But the name *Nambi* used in the Tamil land and in the Āndhradeśa,⁴¹ and the term *Pujari*⁴² which was common in Karnāṭaka as well, were not applied to the Sthanikas, who, in their capacity of worshippers in temples, no doubt performed the duties of priests. The term *Arcaka* was distinct from the term *Sthanika*, as is proved by a record dated A.D. 1564. This inscription relates that Cikka Rāya Tamma Gaṇḍarāyya, a nobleman, granted three villages (specified) to the Arcaka Nīlakapṭhayya and his posterity. This was granted in connection with the gift of the village Mugubāḷu which Cikka Rāya had made for the offerings of his gods Somēvara and Virabhadra.⁴³ Since in the sixteenth century, as we shall amply prove in a later context, the people as well as rulers were well aware of the existence of Sthanikas, and since in the above record the latter term is not applied to Nīlakapṭhayya, we are to suppose that the people never confounded a Sthanika, who was essentially a high official, with an Arcaka, who was merely an ordinary priest conducting the worship in a temple.

Indeed, the Cennakēśava temple stone inscription found at Hiri-Kaḍalur, Haṣṣan taluka, and dated about A.D. 1443, clearly proves that the temple servants had separate names, and that the people never identified the Sthanikas with them. This record relates the following:—That Gōvaṇṇa, and Ballaṇṇa the sons of Śrīrangadeva of Araṇṇipura in Kaḍalur, along with the Sthanikas Kōśava Piḷḷe and others (named), made a gift of specified land for the offerings of the god Cennakēśava. The various temple servants mentioned in the record are the following:—The *Nambi*, who was to get six *gadyāṇa*; the *paricāraka*, who was to get three *gadyāṇa*; the bearers, who were to receive five *gadyāṇa*; the gardener, who was to get three *gadyāṇa* and the cook who was to receive five *gadyāṇa*. These and other details were written with the approval

40. E. G. VI. Kd. 137, p. 26.

41. Butterworth Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, III. p. 1084.

42. *Ibid.*, II. p. 822.

43. E. G. IX. Ht. 94 p. 98.

of both parties (one party being the donor, the other being the Sthānikas) by the Senabova of the town, Singappa, who was also the Sthānika priest of the Mālasthanā god. The Sthānikas were to continue in perpetuity and undisturbed the worship in the temple. (*ā Kēava dēvarige adhikāriyāgidda Lingarasaara Mādaṇṇa muntāgi yi Sthānikarige ācandrārkkā pariyanta naḍavānt-āgi koḥḥa-śāana*.)⁴⁴

3. WHO, THEN, WERE THE STHĀNIKAS ?

We have now to enquire who were called Sthānikas. The Sthānikas were known by various names in historical records. They were called Sthānācāryas, Sthānapatiś, Sthānattar, or Tāpattar, Sthānādhipatiś, or merely Samsthānakulu. In the reign of the Coja monarch Rāja Rāja III (A.D. 1216-?), the Sthānikas were called Tāpattar.⁴⁵ A stone record dated only in the cyclic year Pingala and found in the temple of Tiruvoggiyūr in the Saidapet taluka, Chingleput district, registers an order of Tāpattar of the same temple assigning the quarters called Nārpattēṇṇaiyir-apperanderuvu for the exclusive dwelling of sculptors and artisans.⁴⁶ The Sthānikas were the priests and trustees of the Śrīmandarapāḍya Iṅgaram-Uḍaiya temple in the Pudukottai State.⁴⁷ The temple trustees of the Viṣṇu temples in the Tamil land were called Sthāpattar.⁴⁸

In the Āndhradeśa the Sthānikas were called Sthānādhipatiś, or Sthānapantulu, or Samsthānakulu. Thus, the Rameśvara temple stone inscription found at Mannūru (or Maḍanūru) in the Nellore district, and dated Śaka 1033 (A.D. 1111-2), affirms that on the specified date Gonnayya, the son of Vireḍḍi, presented five *paḍyāpa* for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Rameśvaradeva at Itamukkala. This charity was entrusted to the charge of Śima Bhaṭṭa, the Sthānādhipati of the same temple; and it was declared that he and his descendants should burn the

44. E. C. V. Hs. 82, pp. 25-26.

45. Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle for 1925, p. 107.

46. 804 of 1918; Rangacharya, *A Typographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I. p. 451. It is difficult to verify this date. See 66 of 1908; 381 of 1902; 31 of 1909 for references to the temple of Nārpattēṇṇaiyir Viṣṇagar.

47. Burgess-Natesa Sastri, *Tamil & Sanskrit Inscriptions*, I. p. 61, n. (5).

48. Ep. Rep. of S. Circle for 1915, p. 85; Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 9. As managers of temples, the Sthānikas may be compared to the *koṭṭikālvi* for whom see 890 of 1912 dated Śaka 1427 (A.D. 1516-16).

perpetual lamp in succession. * In Śaka 1077 (A.D. 1155-6), according to the stone inscription found at Bollavārappaṇ, Nellore district, all the *mahājanas* (i. e., Brahman burgesses) of the illustrious Duyyalareyṇu gave ten *guttis* of land in the field of the god Rameśvara to Mādajiya, who was the Sthānapati of the temple of Śiva, for providing worship, offerings, lighting, enjoyment, and decorations of the god Rameśvara, in perpetuity.⁴⁰ The Sthānapantulu of the Malleśvara temple at Nagaluppalapāḍu, Nellore district, were Mara Jiyalu and his younger brother Bhaira Jiyalu. These two sthānikas received the endowment of specified lands presented by Madhava Nayaka when he had consecrated the temple mentioned above in Śaka 1161 (A. D. 1239-1240). They were to carry on the work of providing oblations, offerings, and worship of the above god from the revenue of the lands entrusted to their charge, in perpetuity.⁴¹ There are many such instances of Sthānikas or Sthānapantulu, or Sthānādhipatis, or Sthānapatis, who, in the middle and latter part of the thirteenth century A. D., were the custodians of the lands which were given as gifts to temples, and from the revenues of which they were to provide for the daily offerings, worship, etc., of the gods in the temples.⁴²

We may now proceed to give a few examples of Sthānāptis or Sthānapatigalu in Karnāṭaka. The Sangameśvara temple stone inscription found at Sindhaghatṭa, Krishnarājapēṭe taluka, Mysore State, and assigned to A. D. 1179, relates how the Sthānikas co-operated with the Brahmins in the matter of selling endowed lands. The Brahmins, who are called Mahājanas, belonged to the immemorial *agrahāra* of Sangameśvarapura alias Sindhaghatṭa, while the Sthānapatis belonged to Mācanakatte alias Bijaleśvarapura. The Sthānikas and the Brahmins together sold to Male Nayaka for eighty-five *paḍyāṅga* certain specified land belonging to the gods Sangameśvara and Janneśvara in Sindhaghatṭa, reserving

40. Butlerworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, III, p. 1045. These editors always wrongly translate *Sthānādhipatis* as temple servants. Rangacharya copies this blunder. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 1091 and *passim*. Obviously these writers must have been led to commit this mistake by the erroneous nature of the interpretation of the word Sthānika given in Government Publications to which reference will be made at the end of this paper.—B.A.S.

50. Butlerworth-Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, II, p. 926. The editors wrongly interpret Mahājanas as elders.—B. A. S.

51. *Ibid.*, III, p. 1059.

52. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 1009, 1030, 1046, 1047, 1092, 1093, 1148, 1157, 1163, 1168, & 1323.

for themselves the amount payable for the offering to the god Sangameśvara.⁵³

Although the above is one more instance of the flagrant breach of the injunction of Kaṭalya pertaining to the sale of endowed lands, yet it affords another example of the Sthānikas being of the same status as the Brahmans.

Tripurantakadeva, the son of the king Irungola Coḍa Mahārāja, was ruling from Haniysdurga in A. D. 1262. The Amara-pura stone inscription Sma taluka, Mysore State, which contains the above detail, relates that Tripurantakadeva granted in that year certain lands to Rudrākṣi, the son of Uttava Jīya, and the Sthānāpati of the temples of the gods Govindeśvara and Rāmanātha Mulasthāra of Tayilangere in the Sirenaḷ, evidently for performing the worship and decorations in the above temples.⁵⁴

The Koyil-sthānāpattikāḷ of the Rameśvara temple of the Durgā agrahara in Yeḷandor Jagir, Mysore State, was Ājvan Bhaṭṭa, the son of . . . Bhaṭṭa, of the Gautama gotra. Both he and Ummal Ammaḷ, Periyāḷka, and another lady, all of whom were the wives of Śivabalaṃ Uḍaiyar, with their sons, grandsons, and grand-daughters, together with the *pañca-sthānāpattikāḷ* Rāja Rāja Bhaṭṭa, made a grant of land to Kunniṇṇa Pijjal. This damaged stone inscription found in the Lakṣmī Naraṇinba temple at Agara, Yeḷandor Jagir, tells us that Rāja Rāja Bhaṭṭa was the Sthānāpati of the seven towns and five temples of Rājaraḷapura oḷḷaḷ Tajaḷkaṭa (Talakāṭu) in Vaḷakaraṇaṇḍu.⁵⁵

In about A. D. 1425 Bijjaleśvarapura oḷḷaḷ Mācanakaṇṇe figures again in a sale deed effected by Rēvaḷa Malleya, the son of the Sthānāpati Oḷḷa Malleya Nāyaka of Bijjaleśvarapura, to Cakravartī Bhaṭṭopādhyāya, the son of Rājaraḷaguru Viṣṇu Bhaṭṭaiyanga. This sale deed concerned about fifteen houses, certain specified coconut and arecanut plantations, and specified lands which were the private property of the Sthānāpati, as is evident from the last lines of the epigraph which dwell on the consent of the wife, sons, relations, and heirs of the donor being taken before the sale deed was effected.⁵⁶

53. E. C. IV. Kz. 70, p. 110. This sale deed is repeated elsewhere. E. C. III. Ml. 83, p. 64.

54. E. C. XII. Sl. 34, p. 94.

55. *Ibid.* IV. Yl. 58, p. 32.

56. *Ibid.* Ng. 106, p. 141. The Sthānāśrīya of the south may be compared with the Sthānāśrīka mentioned as an officer in one of the Oriṣaṇ inscriptions. E. I. XV. p. 2.

The Office of the Sthānika was common to the Jainas, the Śrīvaiṣṇavites, the Kāśmukhas, and the Śaivites.

One of the most important considerations in regard to the Sthānikas, is that the office of the Sthānika was common among the Jainas, the Śrīvaiṣṇavites, the Kāśmukhas, and the Śaivites. In this detail the Sthānikas and the Goravas bear comparison. For from the examples given above, it must have been evident to the reader that the name Gorava was applied also to the Jainas. But in the history of the Jainas and the Hindus, the office of a Sthānika carried much respect and many privileges along with it. Among the Jainas there were the Sthāniya or Thāṇiyakula Jainas, as is mentioned in some Maṣbūr inscriptions of about the 1st century A. D.⁸⁷ The office of the priests of the Dhruvīya sect of Jainas, is still called Sthānika.⁸⁸ We have to surmise that the use of the words Sthāniya and Sthānika in the above contexts, referred obviously to the office and dignity of a *sthāna*. Our surmise is proved by the Īvara temple stone inscription found at Balla, Āvaṇī hobli, Malbāgal taluka, Mysore State, and dated about A. D. 970. In this stone inscription of the reign of the Pallava-Nolamba king Dilipayya, we are told that Tribhuvankartta was ruling the *sthāna* (*Tribhuvanaharttara sthānāmam ājutt ira*).⁸⁹ Now we know from another stone inscription also in the same place but dated A. D. 1007 that this Tribhuvankarttara was a Bhaṭṭara, i. e., a Bhaṭṭaraka, a title which was generally applied to a Jaina priest. In this record he is styled as one ruling the Āvaṇīya *sthāna*, thereby showing that he was the high priest of the whole Āvaṇīnāḍ.⁹⁰ We shall have to refer to this great figure presently in some detail.

More definite evidence than the above concerning the existence of Sthānikas among the Jainas is afforded in other records, one of which was that found in the Taṭṭekere Rāmēvara temple, Shimoga, and dated about A. D. 1085. This inscription contains the interesting information that a certain official named Parggaḍe Nokkaya, who was the disciple of Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva of the Mula *saṅgha*, Kṛpūr *gaṇa*, and Meṣapāṣaṇa *gaṇa*, erected four *basadis* (evidently at Taṭṭekere), and made specified grants of land for the Sthānāpatīs of the Gaṇa-*gaṇa*.⁹¹

87. E. I. I. pp. 378, 383, 386, 392, 393.

88. Burgess-Indraji, *Great Temples of Western India*, p. 68.

89. E. O. X. Mh. 93, p. 99.

90. *Ibid.*, Int. p. xxii, Mh. 91, p. 99.

91. *Ibid.*, VII. Sh. 10, p. 12.

Another stone inscription found at Sābanūr, Davanagere taluka, Mysore State, and dated A. D. 1128 illustrates better our statement. In this record it is related that the *Senior Daṇḍanāyaki* Kāḷiyavve granted specified land in the orthodox manner to Śāntiśayana Paṇḍita, the Sthānācārya of Sēmtanūr (*śrīmat-Sēmtanūr-sthānācārya-Śāntiśayana-ṇḍitara kavyalu śrīmat-piriya-daṇḍanāyaki Kāḷiyavve* etc.). This grant was made for the company of Parāvadeva and the service of the god, and the livelihood of the *pūjārī*.⁶² The distinction made here between the Pūjārī and the Sthānācārya is very significant. For it shows that even among the Jainas the Sthānikas were never confounded with the ordinary priests.

The dignity of the office of a Sthānācārya is further borne out by the Barma temple stone inscription found at Huruḷi, Sobrah taluka, Mysore State, and dated A. D. 1237. It is narrated in this inscription that Elambajji Deki Śeṭṭi made specified gifts of land for the repairs of the Śāntinātha *basadi* constructed by him as well as for the gifts of food to the Jīyas and the four castes of Śramaṇas. This gift was made to the *Śāntinātha-ghaṭika-sthāna-maṇḍalācārya* Bhaṇukṛti Siddhantadeva in the prescribed orthodox manner (after washing the latter's feet). And the same record continues to narrate that Bhaṇukṛti Siddhantadeva made over that *sthāna* (office) to his disciple Mantravadi Makaradhvaḷa.⁶³

In about A. D. 1255, as is related in one of the Malliśvara temple stone inscriptions at Hirṣhajji, Belur taluka, the Sthānika of the *basadi* of Ādiguṇḍanahajji along with Māca Gaṇḍa, Māra Gaṇḍa, Cikka Gaṇḍa, Cikka Mācāya, and the Sthānika Kalla Jīya of that place (*alliya Sthānika Kalla Jīya*), constructed a *basadi* and gave it to Mādāyya, the son of Mācāyya. This latter person Mācāyya was the disciple of Perumaṇḍa-kanti. One interesting detail in this connection is that the Jaina *gurus* Vajranandi and Mallisenadeva joined the donors on this occasion.⁶⁴

Ruling a *sthāna* was not the only privilege of the Sthānikas among the Jainas. The Caturmukha *basadi* stone inscription of Karkaja, South Kanara, dated Saka 1508 (A. D. 1386) is of special importance in this connection. This record informs us that bathing, worship, and the other ceremonies of the Tīrthankaras Ara, Malli, and Nemīśvara on the four sides and of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras, on the western side of the same Caturmukha

62. E. C. IX. Dg. 90, p. 67.

63. *Ibid.*, VIII. Sb. 384, p. 68.

64. *Ibid.*, V. B1. 139, p. 92.

basadi, were to be performed by the fourteen families of Sthānikas living in the four directions of the same *basadi*. King Bhairarasa Ojeyar of Karkala gave specified grants of land for the above mentioned ceremonies as well as for the *anga-ranga-bhoga* ceremonies, etc., of the images.⁶⁵ The fact that in the famous Tribhuvanatilaka *catyāsaya* of Karkala the daily worship was performed by the fourteen families of the Sthānikas who lived around that *basadi*, proves beyond doubt that as "rulers of the *sthāna*", the Sthānikas were entrusted with the duty of conducting the daily worship in a Jaina temple.

In this connection it may not be out of place to observe that Sravapa Belgoja, the most famous Jaina centre in the south, also possessed Sthānikas. This is proved by epigraphic as well as literary evidence. One of the many inscriptions at Sravapa Belgoja is a damaged record dated A.D. 1455. In it we are told that Caturkirti Paṇḍitadeva, the disciple of Abhinava Paṇḍitadeva, the Gavudagala of Belgulanaḍu, many of the jewel merchants, the Paṇḍita-Sthānikas, and physicians, did some useful work which is unfortunately effaced in the record.⁶⁶ The evidence of an inscription dated A. D. 1634 will be cited in a later context. This epigraph also proves that the Sthānikas managed the shrines of Sravapa Belgoja.

The literary evidence concerns Paṇicabapa, the author of the Kannada poem *Bhujabalaravile* written in the *sāṅgatya* metre in A. D. 1612. He tells us that he was the son of the Sthānika Cennappa of Sravapa Belgoja.⁶⁷

That the office of a Sthānika was to be found among the Śrivaishnavites is proved by the following epigraph discovered in the Narasiṃha temple at Belūr. It is dated A. D. 1174. It registers a royal gift by the Hoysala monarch Ballāja Deva of the petty taxes (specified in detail) from twelve villages (named), to the god Vijayanārāyaṇa in that *nāḍu* of Belūr. And for the performance of prayers, sacrifices, daily service, and recitations of the Vedas, the Hoysala king gave further grants of villages (specified) to the 120 Brahmins of Kṣavapura (i. e., Belūr), the twenty-one (priests) of Subhapura, and the thirty Śrivaishnava Sthānikas of that place (*Leṭhaḷada-sthānika-Śrivaishnavaru māvatṭakum*).⁶⁸ The Śrivaishnavas mentioned here were Brahmins,

65. E. I., VIII, pp. 132-136.

66. *Ibid.*, II, No. 207, p. 116.

67. *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1918*, p. 68.

68. E. G. V. Bl. 59, p. 68.

as is proved by another stone inscription found in the same place but dated A. D. 1117.⁶⁸

The existence of a Sthānāpati among the Kājānukhas referred to elsewhere by us, is further corroborated by the Gapapati temple stone inscription found at Kanikaṭṭa, Arsikere taluk, Mysore State, and dated A. D. 1152. It informs us that Śivāsakti Paṇḍita was the Sthānāpati of the Jagadeśvara temple of Kanikaṭṭa (*Jagadeśvarade sthānāpati Śivāsakti Paṇḍitarige*). He received specified gifts of money and land from the *Mahāpradhāna* Ballama, during the reign of the Hoysala king Naraśiṅga Dēva.⁶⁹

These epigraphs establish clearly the claims of Sthānikas to Brahmanhood. Nevertheless, there is one detail which requires elucidation here. In the *Arthasāstra* of Kaṭṭiāya no reference is made to the community to which the Sthānikas belonged. For, as we have already seen, to him they were essentially officials. Such was also the position which the Sthānikas enjoyed in historical times. And in this capacity as officials in charge of temples and temple lands, the Sthānikas, as is proved by the following record, carefully distinguished themselves from the ordinary Brahmins. The inscription in question was discovered near the same Gapapati temple mentioned just above. It has been assigned to A. D. 1215 by Rios. The distinction between ordinary Brahmins and the officials called Sthānikas is very well illustrated in this inscription which narrates the following—That five Sthānikas of the immemorial *agrahāra* of Vijayanarasimhapura *alias* Kanikaṭṭi, by name Bitti-gura, the son of the Sthānācārya Devarasi guru, Jagat-Jiya, Canda Jiya, Sankha Jiya, and Lakha Jiya, the last being the son of Naga guru, after agreeing among themselves, gave the following sale deed (*volē*) to all the Brahmins of the same *agrahāra* of Vijayanarasimhapura in the presence of the great senior merchant Ponnaccha Śeṭṭi and others (named) as follows—A dispute having arisen as to some gain or loss in the land of the god Kamaśēvara, the people of the place, Ponnaccha Śeṭṭi, the Jiyas, the Gavunḍas, and Cavugaveyyas, having assembled, inspected the place, and said to those (five priests) (*ā Sthānikāriḥa hāḥatu*),—"It is not right for you to dispute about his". On which the Sthānikas agreeing said—"We will make no dispute. From this day forth the land of all the temples which we have been enjoying is ours; the land which the Brahmins have been enjoying since the *agrahāra* was established is theirs. When the

68. *Ibid.*, Bl. 58, p. 58.

69. *Ibid.*, Ak. 52, p. 129. For other examples, see E. I. VI. pp. 93, 135 and *ibid.*, n

land was distributed to us and the Brahmans there was no watchman for Halli Hiriyūr". Such was the *uṇe* given by the Sthānikas to the Brahmans. We may observe here that this deed in writing was duly attested by quite a number of witnesses and written on stone by an approved stone mason (named).⁷¹

But it is not to be inferred from the above record that the Sthānikas were not Brahmans themselves. Epigraphic evidence conclusively proves that the Sthānikas were, indeed, Brahmans. The Muleśvara temple stone inscription found at Maḍivāḷa, Kolar taluka, Mysore State, and dated A. D. 1394 is very useful in this connection. It registers the sale of land in that year by the following Sthānatārī (which is the Tamil equivalent for Sthānikas) of the temple of Śrī Mulaṣṭhāna Uḍaiyar at Tendattin-maḍivāḷagam—Madhava Bhaṭṭa, the son of Madhava Bhaṭṭa of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, Nacchiappa, Kāmanan, and Ponnipillai, to Śrīucchomaya, the son of Śamanta Bhaṭṭa of the Hariti *gotra*, and a Sthānika of the Somāśuram Uḍaiyar temple at Śūrūr. The land sold is called *ḥaṭra*. The four Sthānikas of the Śrī Mulaṣṭhāna Uḍaiyar temple having received full payment, made over to Śrīucchomaya the full possession of the tract of land in that place which had formed their portion of the *devadāna* of the Śrī Mulaṣṭhāna Uḍaiyar temple, including the houses, the gardens attached there to, the *pōmāḷ* lands, the wet and dry lands, the wells under ground, the trees over ground and the surrounding hamlets, together with all kinds of rights (specified).⁷²

While the above stone inscription undoubtedly proves that the Sthānikas were Brahmans, and that they possessed *devadāna* lands attached to temples, it also enables us to assert that in one particular respect they had completely violated an important injunction of Kauṭilya. For we saw in the above pages that Kauṭilya specifically laid it down as a rule that Sthānikas who were endowed with lands, shall have no right to alienate them by sale or mortgage.⁷³ In the above Muleśvara temple record a sale deed of a portion of the *devadāna* property belonging to the Sthānikas of the Śrī Mulaṣṭhāna Uḍaiyar temple has been registered. We shall see that there were other instances as well of the sale of endowed land by the Sthānikas.

But to continue with the question of the Brahmanhood of the Sthānikas. The Gongadigūra stone inscription (Bangalore taluka) dated A. D. 1495 affirms that the Sthānikas were, indeed,

71. E. C. V., Ak. 49, p. 128.

72. *Ibid.*, X. Kt. 81, pp. 22-23.

73. Kauṭilya, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

Brahmans. This epigraph registers the gift of the Gangaḍihalli (village) in Kukkalasāḍu, within the jurisdiction of his *nāyaka*ship, by the *Mahāmaṇḍalesvara* Gōḍe Rāya, to the sons of Timmarasa, the Sthānika priest of Vakkeḷallimangala and to others (named.) The reason why such a gift was made is unknown. But it is clear from the record that Timmarasa was a Brahman. For it narrates that he belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and Āpaṭhamba *sūtra* (*Kāśyapa gōtrada Āpaṭhamba sūtrada Vakkeḷallimangala Sthānāpati Timmarasa*).⁷⁴

Further proof may be adduced to show that the Sthānikas were Brahmans. This is gathered from the Triyambaka temple stone inscription discovered at Triyambaka, Terakagāmbi hobli, Gundlupet taluka, Mysore State. Dated in A. D. 1535 this record like the above is one more proof to show that the Sthānikas had transgressed the injunction of Kauṭalya in the matter of selling their *devadāna* lands. But it contains the fact that during the *pūruṣatya* of Bhaskarayya, Agent for the Affairs of Rāma Bhaṭṭayya, Ayyappa was the Sthānika of the god Triyambaka. Ayyappa is called the son of Nāṇjanāṭha Joyṭa, of the *Vedīṭha gotra*, *Drahyayana sūtra*, and *Sāma śākhā*. Sthānika Ayyappa gave a sale deed of lands (*bhādāna kṛaya śāṣana*) to the treasury of the god Triyambaka. This sale deed was in regard to the share (specified in detail) which had come to him rent free by a *śāṣana*, the share (also specified in detail) which had come to him as a gift, and the share which he had purchased from one Gopapa. These lands were sold in order to pay off the debts of his uncle Triyambakadeva.⁷⁵

The above record no doubt demonstrates that Sthānika Ayyappa had violated Kauṭalya's injunction mentioned above; but it establishes beyond doubt the priestly class to which the Sthānikas belonged.⁷⁶

4. THE POSITION, PRIVILEGES, AND POWERS OF THE STHĀNIKAS IN HISTORICAL TIMES

In order to understand the duties and rights enjoyed by the Sthānikas in historical times, it is necessary that we should review epigraphs ranging from the ninth century A.D. onwards till the

74. E. G., IX. Bu. 123, p. 24.

75. *Ibid.*, IV. Gu. 4, p. 36.

76. In view of this clear evidence it seems that Mr. H. Vasudeva Rao's contention that the Sthānikas are, and have been, Brahmans, is quite correct. Read *Rasratandha* of July 16th 1922, p. 11 (Mangalore).

eighteenth century A.D. The evidence of these numerous epigraphs, we may repeat, is of first-rate importance, in as much as they not only cover ten long centuries, but also the three important regions of the south and the west—Karnāṭaka, the Tamil land, and the Āndhradeśa.

NINTH CENTURY A.D.

The Madhukeśvara temple damaged stone inscription found at Chikla Madhura, Chajjakere tāluka, Mysore State, and dated about A.D. 815, of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Prabhūtavara Śrīvallabha (i.e., Govinda III, A.D. 794–A.D. 814), contains an unusual variant of the name Sthānika. It is the word *Sāndeva Sāntiga* used in connection with the temple priest Paramēśvara of Koḷar Nakhareśvara, the disciple of Vināyācārya. The Sthānika evidently received the grant of land (specified) made by Gavanabbe, the consort of the prince Pallavamalla, who ruled over Madarikāḷ and other (specified) territories.⁷⁷

A clearer use of the word Sthānika is in A.D. 823 when Sthānika Madhuravañja is mentioned as the engraver of a copper plate grant of the Ganga king Rācennalla (Śaṭyaśakya I). Madhuravañja was of the Viśvāmītra gotra and a native of the town of Karuvūr.⁷⁸

TENTH CENTURY A.D.

A great name among the Sthānikas in the last quarter of the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. is that of the Sthānika Tribhuvanakartāra Bhaṭṭāra, who has already been referred to in this treatise. Nine records refer to the powerful influence wielded by this Sthānācārya in the Āvapideśa during the reign of the Nalamba king Dilipayya Iṣṭa Nalamba. In some inscriptions Tribhuvanakartāra, who had also the *virūḍa* of Paṇḍitadeva, is said to have been merely governing the spiritual kingdom (*loka rājyam payu*), when the king Dilipayya was ruling the earth.⁷⁹ In other records Tribhuvanakartāra is represented as ruling the *Āvapīya sthāna* (*Āvapīya sthānamam āpūta iro*), or merely ruling the *sthāna*, obviously of the Āvapinād. These later records are dated about A.D. 970 and A.D. 1007.⁸⁰

77. *E.O.* XL Cl. 34, p. 101, text, pp. 277–278.

78. *M. A. R.* for 1908, p. 26.

79. *M. A. R.* for 1937, p. 90; *E. O. X.* Mb. 24 & Mb. 264 both dated circa A. D. 970, pp. 100, 133; *M. A. R.* for 1923, p. 54.

80. *F. O. X.* Mb. 91 dated A.D. 1007; Mb. 93 dated circa A.D. 970, p. 69; *M. A. R.* for 1923, p. 54; *ibid.*, for 1927, pp. 91, 92.

But both these records are posthumous, since the date of the death of Tribhuvanaskarttara is given in the Girḍīrītha stone inscription dated A.D. 931. This record says that having ruled the *Āvartya sthāna* for fifty years, constructed fifty temples, and built two big tanks, on that date Tribhuvanaskarttara, entitled the *Kalīyuga Rudra*, departed this life.⁸¹ Hence this remarkable Sthanacarya exercised his powerful sway from A.D. 891 till A.D. 931.

To about the tenth century A.D. may be assigned the stone inscription found in Sangasandra in the hobli of Daggasandra, Kolār district, and dated only in the cyclic year Krodhi, Caitra Śu. 3. It informs us that Rācayya, the son of Thimayya, of Kuraḍamale, gave the gift of the village of Karapanahalli in Kuraḍamaleśime to the Sthānika Kappappa, who was the manager of the temple of the god Sangeśvara, as a hereditary grant. This gift was made for the service of offering food and lights to the god.⁸²

ELEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

A more powerful and famous name than that of Tribhuvanaskarttara mentioned above is that of the *Rājaguru Ekkoṭṭisamaya-akhravarī-sptāhattari-sthānācārya* Sarveśvaraśaktideva, the great Kaṣṭhukha priest who was in charge of seventy-seven temples in and around Kuppāṭur. Sarveśvaraśaktideva is also said to be ruling in peace the kingdom of penance (*taporājya*) in the Kaṭṭabheśvara temple stone record (Sohrab taluka) dated A.D. 1070. This learned man received many grants at the hands of Udayāditya Daṇḍanāyaka, who had received them from the Western Cōḷukya monarch Someśvara-deva.⁸³

The priests of the well known Kuppāṭur Koṭṭēvara Mūlasthan temple and of all the eighteen temples there were called *Ekkoṭṭisvara-mūlasthan-pramukha-padinēṣu-sthānad-ācārya-rum*, in a stone inscription dated A.D. 1077 and found in the Jaina *basadi* in Oikka Cuvuṭagrāma in the Sohrab taluka.⁸⁴

TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.

The importance of the Sthānikas in public matters not pertaining to temples but to public grants is seen in a stone inscription found in the Aundh State, Bombay Presidency. This

81. E.O.X. Mb. 65, p. 95.

82. M.A.R. for 1927, p. 89.

83. E.O. VIII. Sb. 276, p. 47.

84. E. C. VIII. Sb. 262, p. 42.

record dated A.D. 1107 relates the following—That in the reign of the Western Calukya king Vikramāditya IV, his officer Prabhu Sonnane Nāyaka, who was placed over Kollāpura (mod. Kolhapur), along with his wife, daughter and son (all named) granted a village (location specified) for the services of the goddess Mahālakṣmī, and at the same time granted other lands (to the priest?) Balaśāyaka. To these charities the Sthānikas were cited as witnesses, and the latter had to guard the gift against obstructors (*śarva-bādhā parihāram āpi sakala-sthānigarām paṇḍa māḍadavara hadana varīyahu* [?] *biṣṭa dharmā*).⁸⁵

There are other instances to illustrate the importance of the Sthānikas in the twelfth century A.D. The damaged Rāmeśvara temple inscription found at Hale Sohrab, and dated about A.D. 1129, registers a gift of land to the god Kālī. This gift was engraved on a stone by the Sthānika Boppaya Jīya with the approval of the Sepahova Bittimayya.⁸⁶ In about A.D. 1139, as the Malledevaragudi stone inscription found at Bikanahalli, Chikkamagalūr taluka, Mysore State, relates, during the reign of the Hoysala monarch Tribhuvanamallā Viśṇuvardhanadeva, Eṛeyama Seṭṭi, the son of the head merchant (*vaḍḍa-vaṇaḥārī*) Dori Seṭṭi, made over a grant (of land) for his god to the Sthānika Tatvapaṭha Paṇḍita.⁸⁷ In about A.D. 1153 the Sthānāpatis of Kōḍṛum-kōḍḍēvara temple at Talakāṣṭu alias Rajarājapuram, having placed before them the Sthānāpatis of the seven towns and five *maḥas* made an agreement with certain Gaṇḍas (named) in regard to the *kaṣṭhāra* share which they had sold. This was during the reign of the Hoysala king Narasimha I.⁸⁸ An undated inscription, assignable to the same year A.D. 1153, styles Padmadēvaṅga Gaṅgaṅga as the Sthānāpati of the seven towns and the five *maḥas* of Talakāṣṭu-Rajarājapuram.⁸⁹

To the middle of the twelfth century must be assigned the stone inscription found in the Ramanandīśvaran-Uḍaiyar temple at Tirukappapuram in the Tanjore district. It falls within the reign of the Coja monarch Kulottunga Cojadeva II (?—A.D. 1143); and it relates the following—That the Maheśvaras and the Tāpattar (Sthānikas) of the temple of Uḍaiyar Trāmanandīśvaran-uḍaiya-Nāyanār set up a Paurayipadevar (?) at Tirukappapuram, and approaching the temple authorities at

85. *M. A. R.* for 1927, pp. 147-148.

86. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 42, p. 2.

87. *Ibid.* VI. Cm. 144, p. 65.

88. *E. C.* III. Ml. 60, p. 62.

89. *Ibid.* III. Ml. 57, p. 62.

Cidambaram in their assembly hall, represented to them how they (the Māheśvaras and the Sthānikas) were in need of corn and coin. Arrangements were at once made to help the temple in distress. And the Sthānikas and the Māheśvaras who collected the various donations, were each entitled to receive (a remuneration ?) from the temples owning more than ten *vēḷi* of *devadāna* land, one *kaḷam* of rice, and from others one *ṭupī* and one *podakku*. The Devakapmis (menial temple servants) and the accountants were to co-operate with the Māheśvaras and the Sthānikas in the collection of the amount.⁹⁰

The above record is doubly important : Firstly, it ranks the Māheśvaras with the Sthānikas, entrusting both with the work of collecting money and corn for temples. And, secondly, it clearly distinguishes the Devakapmis from the Sthānikas, thereby proving once again that in the history of southern India the Sthānikas were never confounded with the lower temple servants.

That the original meaning of the word *sthāna* (an office) was retained in the twelfth century is proved by the Kēśava temple stone inscription found at Belur, Hassan district, Mysore State. In this record dated A.D. 1174 it is related that Biṭṭibova constructed the shrine of Biṭṭeśvara within the courtyard of the famous Kēśava temple at Belur. For the offerings to this shrine as well as in that of Jagadeśvara, the Hoysala king granted the village of Konēri situated in Tagarenaḍ. And Biṭṭibova granted the trusteeship (*sthāna*) of the two shrines to a Śaiva priest called Tejonidhi Paṇḍita (*Tejonidhi-panḍitaṭarṅga-1 sthānamam dūṣṭāpūrvakam Biṭṭibōvam koṭṭa*).⁹¹

Tejonidhi Paṇḍita's disciple Devendra Paṇḍita, we may incidentally note, is called in a record dated A. D. 1159, and found in the Mādeśvara temple at Saṭekere, Arsikere taluka, Mysore State, Sthānapati Devendra Paṇḍita. He received a grant of land made by Bhava Heggade on behalf of the god Molasthāna of Saṭeyakere in that year.⁹²

Tejonidhi Paṇḍita was himself a Kaṭmukha teacher. In A. D. 1161 he is mentioned as the disciple of Vamaśakti Paṇḍita, and his co-student was Kalyāṇaśakti Paṇḍita. To Tejonidhi Paṇḍita was granted specified land by Senāpati Daṇḍanāyaka's wife Mahadevi Daṇḍanāyaki, along with a house for the Jīya.⁹³ Tejonidhi was

90. *Ep. Ref. of the E. Circle for 1923*, p. 107.

91. *M. A. R. for 1934*, pp. 80, 82.

92. *E. C. V. Ak.* 119, p. 166.

93. *Ibid.* XI. Dg. 84, p. 67.

also the recipient of another grant of land at the hands of the *Mahāmaṇḍalesvara* Vijaya Paṇḍya Deva in A. D. 1177.⁹⁴

Another instance may be given to show that managership of a temple and the office of a *sthāna* were one and the same. This refers to the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballaḥa II, when in about A. D. 1185 in the village of Antarpalli, Candramaliyappa appointed Mahādeva, the son of Viṇṇayaṇḍar, as the *Sthānāpati* and manager of the temple in that village.⁹⁵

The famous *guru* Vāmaśaktideva, of the great temple of Kēdāra in Baḷḷigāma, Tāḷgunda hobli, Shikurpur taluka, Mysore State, is called in a record dated A. D. 1193 the *Sthānācārya* of that temple.⁹⁶

THIRTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

In the thirteenth century the *Sthānikas* continued to be powerful as well as popular. The *Mahāgrāha* Nāgarāma set up the god Nagoṣvara in the Honnali taluka in A. D. 1203. And for the god Nagoṣvara he granted specified land to the learned *Sthānācārya* Sovacārya Bhairavayati. This was in the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballaḥa II, as is related in a stone inscription found in the same temple at Arakere.⁹⁷

The importance of the *Sthānikas* is proved by the Basavanaṇḍi stone inscription at Huruji, Sohrab taluka, and dated A. D. 1216. This falls within the reign of the Yadava king Singhaṇa Deva, when Dropapāla, a native of Prabhāskṛṣṭra (i. e., evidently the well known Prabhas Patṭan) in Saurāṣṭra, and an official under that Yadava monarch, presented the village of Elṣabaji and Sirivūr for the permanent worship of the god Somanātha in Bandapḷike in Nāgarakhaṇḍa Eighteen Kampāṇa. This grant was made with the knowledge of the following *Sthānāpatīs*—Bhairama Jiya, the *Sthānāpati* of the Somanātha temple at Bandapḷike; Nakeya Jiya, the *Sthānāpati* of the god Nakharsēvara; Sargeṣvara Deva, the *Sthānāpati* of the god Kōṭṭēvara at Kuppētūr; and Rudradhvaḥa, the *Sthānāpati* of the god Rāmeṣvara of the Yammanūr village. Along with these were all the other *Bhaṭṭārakas* (unnamed) and the Brahmins residents who were the following—the Sarvajña Brahmins, Śūśvari Brahmins, and Bhāla-Sarasvatī Brahmins. There were other individual Brahmins who were present. These

94. *Ibid.*, XI. Dg. 86, p. 66. These three inscriptions Ak. 112, Dg. 84, and Dg. 86 are referred to by Dr. Krishna, *M. A. S. for 1984*, p. 83.

95. *E. C.* III. ML 54, p. 61.

96. *Ibid.*, VII. Sk. 106, p. 77.

97. *Ibid.*, Hn. 108, p. 177.

were Kāmata Bhaṭṭa, Cakriya Deva of Cikka Kerevaru *agrahāra*, Basavarasa of Tilivali *agrahāra*, Bhīmaya of Kuppattūr *agrahāra*, and other Brahmans (named). Various district officials and citizen-representatives are also mentioned in the epigraph, as those whose consent was sought by Drōṇapāla Deva before making the grant. It is interesting to note that among the other witnesses mentioned in the epigraph were the following—Ketaya Jiya, the Tannaḍi of the Lakṣmīśvara temple, Malleyadeva, the Tannaḍi of the Kalideva temple, and the Jaina guru Hemakṛti of the Śāntinātha *basadi* of Bandapike.⁹⁸

We have cited above the evidence of an inscription to prove that the Sthānācāryas were sometimes endowed with authority over seventy-seven temples. This is further corroborated by another stone inscription found also in the Kaṭabbieśvara temple in the Sohrai taluka, and dated A.D. 1231. In this inscription Rudraśakti Paṇḍitadeva, the learned Kaṣṭhukha priest of the Kōṭīśvara temple at Kuppattūr, is called the Cakravarti of the Ekkōṭi-samaya and master of the seventy-seven temples (*saptahattāri sthānācārya*).⁹⁹

The high status occupied by the Sthānikas in Hindu society is also responsible for their having been included on committees of enquiry set up by the State, or for their being cited as witnesses to public grants. One of the Śivapurīśvara temple stone inscriptions found at Śivayam (Kallitalai taluka, Trichinopoly district), and dated only in the fourth regnal year of the king Rājendra Coḷa Deva III (i. e., in A. D. 1250) [1246-1267], contains the following interesting details:—That the monarch appointed a committee to enquire into the affairs of the temples of Tīrumanṣik-kamaḷai-Uḍaiya-Nayanār in Kurukosinsāḍu, a subdivision of Rājagambhīravanāḍu. The committee of enquiry included the *Mahāpradhāna Maṇḍalika Muvāri* Aḷiya Sāmaya Daṇḍanāyaka, Śevayya Daṇḍanāyaka, Somanātha Viṭṭayya, the Māheśvaras, the Sthānikas, and the merchants.¹⁰⁰

As regards the Sthānikas being cited as witnesses to public grants, the evidence of three inscriptions all dated in the same year

98. E. G. VIII, Sb. 391, pp. 70-71.

99. E. G. VIII, Sb. 275, p. 46.

100. 49 of 1913; Rangacharya, *Top Lāt* III, p. 1625. An inscription in the Śānkaraṣṭyinarikōyil in the taluka of the same name (Tinnevely district) affirms that a gift of land was made to the Sthānikas of the temple by the ruler Vikramaṇḍapya in his sixth regnal year. Rangacharya, *ibid.*, III, p. 1476.) The date of this record cannot be determined.

A. D. 1288 may be cited. These records were found near the Rāmeśvara temple at Mosale, Arasikere taluka, Mysore State. In the first we are told that the *Rājaguru* Rudrāsaktideva's sons (disciples) Saigaṇṇa and Candrabhūṣaṇadeva, and Ballaṇṇa's son Candaguru, granted specified land for the offerings of the god Gaureśvara which the Vaidya Devapilleyaṇṇa had set up in the Malleyanahalli. This grant was engraved on stone in the temple enclosure, in the presence of the 120 Sthanikas of Mosale. In the second record dated in the same year (A. D. 1288), the great minister Bireya Dappayaka made a grant of specified lands, which he had acquired in Malleyanahalli, for the offerings of the god Gaureśvara, in the presence of the 120 Sthanikas of Mosale, making them over to the Vaidya Devapilleyaṇṇa. In the third inscription the same donor, on account of the work of the temple of Gaureśvara which was erected in Malleyanahalli by Vaidya Devapilleyaṇṇa, in the name of the *Malāpradhāna's* mother, bought lands and made them over to Devapilleyaṇṇa, along with the temple, in the presence of the *Rājaguru* Rudrāsaktideva and the 120 Sthanikas of Mosale.¹⁰¹

The great influence wielded by the Sthanikas in Karnataka is seen in the Rāmeśvara temple stone inscription found at Rāmanāthapura, Basavapattana hobli, Arkalnad taluka, Mysore State. This inscription is dated A.D. 1252, and it belongs to the reign of the Hoysala monarch Someśvara Deva, when his viceroys Somadevarasa and Boppadevarasa were in their royal residence Śrtranga-pattana. In that year the Sthanāpatīs of the god Rāmanātha, by name Kallasa Śiva Jiya, Māda Jiya, Kaja Jiya, Appa Jiya, Arasa Jiya, and Gōvanna, taking with them the consecrated food of the god Rāmanātha went into the presence of the viceroys Somadevarasa and Boppadevarasa, and blessing the latter with long life, prosperity, and victory, petitioned thus—"For the affairs of the god Rāmanātha, for the offerings...perpetual lamp, water vessels, cloths, and drummers, we have given 72 she-buffaloes and he-buffaloes, whose milk produces 200 *gadyāṇa*. For service, from the interest on the 200 *gadyāṇa*, we have been providing..." The damaged portion of the record contained probably a clause to the effect that the endowment from which the Sthanikas carried on the worship and offerings to the god in the temple, was insufficient, and that, therefore, they begged the rulers not only to renew the original grant but also to make fresh endowments. This supposition of ours is proved by the statement in the epigraph that the rulers Somadeva and Boppadeva coming to the town of

101. E. C. V. Ak. 11-13, p. 116. See also Ak. 10, p. 115.

the petitioners (evidently to see personally the state of affairs there), caused the original award to be renewed by Balçaya and Kappāya, and added the village of Māvanūr on the bank of the Kāveri to the earlier grant. We are told in the same epigraph that as soon as orders were given for setting up the grant in Māvanūr, the Hoysala monarch Someśvara Deva along with his royal children (*rājasa kṣetigaḥ*) and his viceroys Somadeva and Boppadeva, personally visited Māvanūr, and setting up a Nandi pillar in that village, caused the stone *śaśana* to be set up in the temple of the god Rāmanātha.¹⁰²

The importance of the above epigraph lies in the fact that the Sthānikas in the thirteenth century A.D., could appeal directly to the State in matters concerning the welfare of the temples in their charge, and that the rulers at once took prompt action to satisfy their needs. We shall see that this direct contact between the Sthānikas and the State continued to be a special feature in the religious history of Karnataka.

How the Sthānikas co-operated with the other prominent citizens in the matter of awarding distinction upon worthy persons is shown in the Kuṣṇeśvara temple stone inscription dated A. D. 1255 and discovered at Hiriyūr, Arsikere taluka. The object of this inscription is to commemorate the building of the Kuṣṇeśvara temple in that year by a rich Jangama merchant named Kapṇanambi Setṭi, in the name of his son Kuṣṇa who had just died. Kapṇanambi Setṭi, who was greatly honoured in the Hoysala kingdom, richly endowed the temple with many lands (specified); and to his grants was added that made by the Brahmans of the Dāmodara *agrahāra* alias Nagarabāḷi.

Kapṇanambi had a daughter who was called Candavve. He made her the proprietress (*adēyālū*) of the Kuṣṇeśvara temple, for carrying out the ceremonies. And for her maintenance he granted specified *umbāḷi* lands. This gift of rent-free land was made in the presence of the *Rājaguru* of Darasamudra, Rudrasakti Deva, and of the Kampācārya of the Sthānikas of the 120 temples of Arsikere and quite a number of *maḥāgṇas* subjects, farmers and the Sthānikas of the two towns called Mutṭana Hoṣavūru.

Candavve proved worthy of the office bestowed upon her by her father. And it is interesting to observe that the *Rājaguru* Rudrasakti Deva together with the Kampācārya of the Sthānikas of the 120 temples and of the Sthānikas of the two Mutṭana Hoṣavūru and the other respectable citizens, along with the

102. E. C. V. Ak. 53, pp. 253-264.

mahā-gaṇas and others, bestowed upon her the rank and dignity of a *Gaṇa-kṣenārī* (Princess of the Gaṇas or followers of Śiva), granting her at the same time the *matta* dues and all other dues payable to the Kuñjaśvara temple, free of all imposts, in perpetuity.¹⁰³

Let us proceed with the history of the Sthānikas in the thirteenth century A.D. The Malleśvaragudi stone inscription found at Belatur, Heggadevanakōṭe taluka, Mysore State, and assigned by Rice to A.D. 1256, relates a curious instance of the impartiality with which the Sthānikas conducted public charities entrusted to their charge. These events fall within the reign of the Hoysala monarch Someśvara Deva, when his officials Oirka Maci Deva, Gopapa, and Rangapa were governing "a settled kingdom". The Sthānīpati of Belatur in Nūgunda was Mārāja Malloḍeya, the son of the Ekoṭi-paṇḍita Cekoḍeya. The inscription relates that the joint-managers of the fund belonging to the temple which Ekoṭi-paṇḍita Cekoḍeya had erected, caused hindrance to Mārāja Malloḍeya. At this Mārāja Malloḍeya deposited twenty *gaḍḍāṅga* in the temple from his own hand, and obtaining the approval of the three (named), in order that there might be no hindrance or dispute from any one, divided it equally between the gods Mallikarjuna and Baneśvara in Ketanahalli.¹⁰⁴

Four years later we have an instance of the high position which the Sthānikas held in Hindu society. The following details are gathered from the Somanātha temple stone inscription found at Somapura, Tarikere taluka, Mysore State. It is dated A. D. 1260, and it informs us that during the reign of the Hoysala king Narasimha, the Brahmins of Halebidu bought certain lands through the *Mahāpradhāna* Perumale Daṇḍanāyaka for the services of the god Somanātha at Halebidu. They then granted it free of all taxes, making it over to the Sthānika Sankamayya.¹⁰⁵

In the Paṇḍya country, too, the Sthānikas exercised their sway. The Kettemanunganahalli stone inscription found in the Heggadevanakōṭe taluka and dated A. D. 1264, affirms that Naga Deva, the son of Hariṇi Jīya, was the Sthānika of Ma...ja...la in the Paṇḍya country. In order to provide for the ceremonies and perpetual lamp of the god Rāmanātha of Maṇḍigehalli in Nevalenḍ, he had a stone oil-mill made, during the government of Malloya Daṇḍanāyaka.¹⁰⁶

103. E. C. V. Ak. 108, pp. 158-159.

104. E. C. IV. Hg. 10, p. 66.

105. *Ibid.*, VI. Tk. p. 103.

106. *Ibid.*, IV. Hg. 102, p. 79.

Conducting daily ceremonies including the burning of the perpetual lamps in temples was an ordinary function of the Sthānikas. Their importance is seen in records which inform us that temples were made over to them by members of the nobility. For instance, in the Īvara temple stone inscription found at Bōrāpura, Kṛṣṇarājapēṭe taluka, Mysore State, and dated A.D. 1267, it is said that the *Mahāpradhāna* of the Hoysala king Narasīnga was Soma Dappayaka. This great minister's elder sister was Revakka Dapḍanāyakkī. She made over to the Sthānika of Macanakaṭṭa *alias* Bijjaleśvara, by name Menḍayyada Mārappa Nayaka of the treasury of Tammaḷṭyācārya (*Macanakaḷṭṭa Sthānika Tammaḷṭyācārya-śāhryadharmāḷārada Menḍayyada Mārappa*), and to his wife and daughter and granddaughter, "a grant of affection", namely, the Śiva temple of Bhairavācāra which Revakka Dapḍanāyakkī had caused to be erected to the north east of Bommeṇanayakana-haḷḷi *alias* *agrahāra* Hoṣavṇa Bhairavapura. Of course this lady Revakka had richly endowed it with gifts of rent free lands.¹⁰⁷

The above is not the only instance of the Sthānikas receiving gifts of land from members of the nobility. From the following stone inscription found at Hirakogilūru, Channagiri taluka, Mysore State, and dated A.D. 1268, we learn in what reverence the Sthānikas were held by the nobility. The events narrated in the record belong to the reign of the Yadava king Madhava Rāja. His great ministers were two brothers, Caṭṭama and Kōṭama, the sons of Nimbī Rāja. These two were placed over the city of Bēṭur in the Aravattārabāda (sixty-six villages) in the Nōḷambavāgi 32,000 Province. Caṭṭama's crowned eldest son was Caṇḍama. This prince granted specified land measured by the Tiguḷa (*i.e.*, Tamil) pole, for the incense, lights, offerings, and all temple affairs of the god Billeśvara of the immemorial *agrahāra* Dakṣiṇāḍītyavolalu *alias* Kogilūru, at the time of the eclipse of the sun (on the date specified). The grant was made after washing the feet of the Sthānika Dapḍapaṇiguru, in the presence of the representatives of the village and the worthies of the place.¹⁰⁸

One more instance may be given to show the respect in which the Sthānikas were held in Karnaṭaka. In A.D. 1285 during the reign of the Hoysala king Narasimha Deva, Hiriyahaḷḷi Lalāmadeva and his younger brother Haḍivāra Sēvappa constructed a Śivalinga in Goṭṭaganakere. This was done in the name of their mother Maṇcavve. And Lalāmadeva and his brother granted lands (effaced in the record) for the daily worship, decorations, etc., of

107. E. C. IV. Kr. 12, p. 102.

108. *Ibid.*, VII. Cl. 21, pp. 181-182.

the god Mañceśvara, and for the temple repairs, gifts of food to the heads of the *maṇḍas* and ascetics, to the Sthānika of that Mañceśvara temple after washing the latter's feet.¹⁰⁹

We have cited above many instances of the Sthānikas violating the injunction laid down by Kauṣalya concerning endowed lands. A stone inscription in the Belār temple assigned to A.D. 1273 adds to the testimony already given about this point. For it relates that a bond was executed by the Sthānikas of the Bobbeśvara temple and the temple situated to the north-west of the fort of Dorasamudra, in favour of the Ārādhyā Rāmakṛṣṇa Prabhu's son Devappa Prabhu.¹¹⁰

One reason why the Sthānikas in comparatively recent times thus infringed the ancient precept regarding endowed lands was perhaps because they were sole masters of temples and of the lands around them. That they were, indeed, managers of temples is further proved by a damaged stone inscription found in the Siddhaśvara temple at Nirugunda, Hojalakere taluka. This record has been assigned to about A.D. 1268. It informs us that on the death of the Sthānika priest of the god Siddhānātha of Nirugunda, Nalla Jya's son Siddha Jya, the temple became vacant. Since the names of Siddha Jya and of other priests (Sthānikas) had been "inscribed on the back of the *stone-plate* of the god Siddhānātha", the question arose whether the *vr̥tti* of the temple belonged to Siddha Jya's son Viśvānātha or to the State. It is not clear from the record as to who had sold the *vr̥tti* for thirty-two *paḍyāṇa* which was the price of the day. But this sale seems to have been effected, and evidently a petition on behalf of Viśvānātha had been made to the crowned queen's son Coḷayya and to the Brahmans, by the king's servants Mādayya and Ballayya. Unfortunately the record is effaced here, and we are in the dark as to what transpired as a result of the petition.¹¹¹ But one thing seems clear from the above record—that the Sthānikas were, indeed, masters of temples in the thirteenth century A. D.

This is also evident from an inscription on a beam in the Ranganātha temple at Halebidu, dated A. D. 1245, which relates the following—That on the death of (the Sthānika) Soma Jya of the Bobbeśvara temple (at Dorasamudra), the *Rājaguru* Candrabhāṣana Deva and the 120 Sthānikas of the capital Dorasamudra divided his lands among his wife, son-in-law, and one another.¹¹² Now we

109. *E. G. XII. Tp. 12*, pp. 44-45.

110. *M. A. E.* for 1911, p. 49.

111. *E. G. XI. Hk. 122*, p. 134.

112. *M. A. E.* for 1911, p. 48.

know from both the legal as well as literary records that the right of dividing the property of a deceased person rested solely with the State, or when such right was delegated by the State, with corporate bodies or officials. Since we cannot conceive of the Sthānikas of Dorasamudra led by the *Rājaguru* of that capital of the Hoysalas, dividing the property of a deceased Sthānika among the latter's relatives without the sanction of the State, and, we may presume, that of the Society as well, we have to assume that they must have received the permission of the Government before dividing the said property. Our supposition in regard to the sanction of the society is proved by the concluding lines of the same epigraph which run thus—That he who violated the arrangement was looked upon as having disregarded the *Rājaguru* and the *samaga*. The latter term obviously refers to the society.

And as regards the sanction of the State being obtained for partitioning or selling lands by the Sthānikas, the following Holliyanakere (Bangalore taluka) inscription dated A.D. 1294 will be of particular interest. It tells us that in the 40th regnal year of the Hoysala king Ramanātha Deva, Rājārāja Karkāṭa Mahārāja Tamittamavar granted as a charitable gift two villages named Anumadumuttiram and Upāngimāraṇ-kaṭṭal (location specified) together with other lands, for feeding Brahmans, to the twenty-eight men (named) of that village of Holliyanakere, "who should conduct the duties of the Tānapatis (Sthānikas)." It is clearly stated in the record that "I, Tamittamavar, made the above grant with the pouring of water, as a charitable gift, to the twenty-eight men, with the right to sell or give away (the lands) for the benefit of the king's sacred body and of myself."¹¹³

Such latitude may explain the sale of lands made, for instance, in A. D. 1295 by the Sthānika Gureppa, the son of Bāca Jīya, to Gurucittadeva Oḷeyar's son Gangideva. This Sthānika seems to have made over even the god Rāmayyadeva to Gangideva Oḷeyar, as the Rāmeśvara temple inscription found near Virūpura, Māgaḍi taluka, Mysore State, seems to imply.¹¹⁴

Epigraphs of the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. only reiterate the statement we have already made concerning the position and duties of the Sthānikas. During the reign of the Hoysala king Narasimha Deva III in A. D. 1279, when Tāreyaqa Daṇḍāyala was the governor of Dasanur and its neighbourhood, various Gaṇḍas (named) of Dasanur agreeing among themselves, made a specified grant of land to provide for the perpetual lamp and

113. E. C. IX. Bm. 100, p. 20.

114. M. A. R. for 1914-1915, p. 56.

an upper storey for the temple of the god Viṣṇanātha. This charity was entrusted to the charge of Sthanika Jyṣṇḍi Harpaṇḍi.¹¹⁵ Similar grants of land were made to the Sthanāpatīs Mayi Jiya, the son of Śūri Jiya, and Malla Jiya, in A. D. 1299, by the Malayala chief Vāṣuḍeva Nayaka's son and a number of others (named), for the god Svayambhū Ankanātha of Nittūr.¹¹⁶

FOURTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

The fourteenth century did not see any diminution either in the status or powers of the Sthanikas. On the other hand, in this century they became uncommonly prominent because of the direct appeals and orders made to them by the State. They continued, of course, to rule over the *sthānas* and *maṭhas* of the land, to receive lands on behalf of the gods in temples, to contract deeds of agreement and partition, and to confer honours, along with others, upon worthy persons who had done signal service to the country.

A few examples will suffice to prove that they were still masters of the temples and the *maṭhas*. An inscription dated A. D. 1334 and found on the roadside at Malavaṃḷi grāma, Malavaṃḷi taluka, Mysore State, tells us that the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Somaya Dappāyaka's son Pallappa Dappāyaka, along with Somayappa Oḷeyappa, the Sthanāpati of the seven towns and five *maṭhas* of Talakadu, and Sarager Seṭṭi's son Madi Ganja, made a grant of land at Haharavāṣi.¹¹⁷ Mallappa, the son of Naga Paṇḍita, is called the Sthanāpati of the seven towns and five *maṭhas* of Talakadu in A. D. 1338, during the reign of king Vira Ballala III.¹¹⁸ A stone inscription found at Kantāvara, Kārikaṣa taluka, South Kanara district, and dated Śaka 1271 (A. D. 1349) affirms that the Sthanikas ruled the Kantāvara temple. These Sthanikas numbered three hundred and possessed a *grāma* (village) of their own. (*Kāntāroda dāśālayada Sthānikaramu* [a] *grāmaru*). Together with the Horayinavaru (i.e., representatives from outside their *grāma*), Barya Śanakava, and others (named), they caused a *śilā śāzana* to be written (with details enumerated). This was in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Śrīmaṭ Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Hariyappa Oḷeyar, when his minister (*pradhāna*) Haḷapada Gautama was placed as viceroys over the Maṅgaḷūru-rāja.¹¹⁹

115. E. C. III. Nj. 180, p. 113. In about A. D. 1280 Tīrūvālur is called the Sthanāpati of the temple of Vidyāśvara. *Ibid.*, TN. 12, p. 70.

116. *Ibid.*, IX. Kn. 76, p. 120.

117. *Ibid.*, III. Ml. 99, 104, p. 85.

118. *Ibid.*, Ml. 109, p. 87.

119. 57 of 1901; South Indian Inscriptions, VII. p. 231.

Instances may now be given of the grants of land received by the Sthānikas on behalf of temples in order to conduct worship, festivals, etc., in them. The Sampigesiddheśvara temple stone inscription discovered on the top of the Citradurga (Chitaldroog) (hill) and dated A.D. 1328, relates that Ballappa Daṇḍanayaka and Singeya Daṇḍayaka set up a *haga* in Bemmattakallu in the name of their father Beba Daṇḍayaka, and received from their royal master king Ballaḍa Deva III the village of Bennedone which they granted in perpetuity as a free gift to the temple. The management of this charity was entrusted to the care of Hiriyaṇṇa Daṇḍayaka. But to Gobar Narahari Deva, the Sthānakīya of that god Behanṭha, they gave four parts of the land, while to the Purāṇika (unnamed) only one part.¹²⁰

The Sthānikas received land on behalf of temples from princes as well. Thus in A.D. 1336, as is related in one of the Varadarājasvāmi temple stone inscriptions found at Tekal, Sītānādar aḥṇas Solappa Peromaḥ, the son of the Coja ruler Rajendra Coja Cakravarti, Gangalkroḍa, Solapperumaḥ, granted the village of Pollikkuruḍai (location specified), as a *śāraṇāṇya* gift to provide for the offerings of rice, sandal, lamps, and temple repairs, for the god Aruḷala-nādar at Tekal. A deed of gift to the above effect was given to the temple authorities (Taṇṭattarkum) and to Śokkapperumaḥ Tadar, permitting them to have the same engraved on stone and copper.¹²¹

Three years later (A.D. 1339) Konaiya Pemme Nāyakan, one of the officers under the *Mahāpradhāna* Dattī Singeya Daṇḍayaka, granted the village of Puttar (location given) to provide for the offerings mentioned in the above record, for the same god. This gift was also given to the same donees with the same permission.¹²²

The Cikkapura stone inscription (Hiregaṇṭanaru hobli, Chitaldroog taluka) dated A.D. 1355 illustrates our point better. This epigraph registers the gift of the village of Cikkapura itself to the Sthānika Somappa, the son of the Sthānika priest Hiriya Siddhaṇṇa, by Mallinātha Oḍeyar, the son of the *Mahānāṇḍaleśvara* Someya Nāyaka. The grant was made on behalf of the god Siddhanātha of Bemmattanakallu (i.e., Chitaldroog itself).¹²³

Another record found in the Śvara temple at Koḍuru, Nagar taluka, also in the Mysore State, corroborates the statement we have made that public charities pertaining to temples were left in the

120. E. G. XI. Cd. 4, p. 3.

121. *Ibid.* X. Mr. 7, p. 127.

122. *Ibid.* Mr. 8, pp. 157-158.

123. E. G. XI. Cd. 55, p. 14.

charge of the *Sthānikas* who managed such temples. This inscription is dated A.D. 1367, and it falls within the reign of the Vijayanagara king Bukka Raya's son Virupākṣa Raya, when the latter's minister Talakāḍ Māyasa was placed over the province of the Āraṅga Eighteen Kampāṇa. In order that "Virupā Raya might have a firm kingdom", the representatives of the Fifty *nāḍis* made a specified grant of land for the decorations and offerings of the god Śaṅkara in the Bandiganāli village. And the inscription relates that "The god's *Sthānika* (name effaced in the record) and the *Sinabova* (name effaced), to their children's children, will maintain this (charity) without fail."¹²⁴

As in the previous centuries, the *Sthānikas* in the fourteenth century continued to grant lands to worthy citizens along with the other respectable persons of the locality. In this matter the *Sthānāpati* of Talakāḍ became very conspicuous. Thus, for instance, in A.D. 1312 when king Ballaḷa Deva III was ruling, Veṅṇakuma, the son of Gaṅgaḍharadeva, and the *Sthānāpati* of the seven towns and the five *maḥalas* of Talakāḍ *alias* Bājarāḷapuram, granted certain specified lands to Mallappa Nayaga.¹²⁵ In A.D. 1313, according to the Hoysar stone inscription found at Malavalli, the *Sthānāpati* of the seven *puras* (towns) and the five *maḥalas* of the same city of Talakāḍ, and Āḍidevārāsa of Ānebasādi and others made a grant of land to certain Gaṇḍas (named) for having conducted the repairs of Ānebasādi.¹²⁶ Another Tamil inscription of the same date and found in the same place, records that Ariyaṇḷḷai *alias* Senāpati, the *Sthānāpati* of Ānevasādi (i.e. Ānebasādi) at Talakāḍ, and Śivana Gaṇḍanḍan of Puśukūr in the southern division of Kṛṣṇaṇḍu, granted specified lands to Kōmṣḷi, the accountant of Puśukūr, to be enjoyed by him in perpetuity.¹²⁷ Marali Pemmanna, the *Sthānāpati* of the seven towns and five *maḥalas* of Talakāḍu, granted, land (to some one) in A. D. 1321 during the reign of the same Hoysala king Ballaḷa Deva III.¹²⁸ From a stone inscription found at Tigāḍaḷalli,

124. *Ibid.*, VIII. Nr. 34, p. 133. There is a record assigned to A.D. 1371 and found in the Somasvāra temple at Gaṅgavara, Devanahalli taluka, Mysore State, which seems to register some regulations pertaining to the different castes and even to the ruler of the Nallūr *nāḍi* himself ! These regulations were caused to be written by the three *Sthānikas* (not named) of the same Somasvāra temple. But the sense of the inscription is by no means clear. *Ibid.*, IX. Dv. 73, p. 83.

125. *Ibid.*, III. Ml. 122, p. 68.

126. *M. A. R.* for 1920, pp. 34-35.

127. *M. A. R.* for 1920, p. 35.

128. *E. C.* III. Ml. 107, p. 67.

Malsavalli taluka, dated A. D. 1337, we learn that Mallappa, the son of Nāga Paṇḍita, the Sthānapati of the five *maḥas* of Talakadu, granted a village as a *pura* to Mārabbakta and others (named), the share of each being specified. The conditions of the grant, we may note by the way, were that the grantees should pay a small sum of money till A. D. 1339, a slightly increased sum till A. D. 1342, and thenceforward a consolidated sum.

The interest of the above record from Tigāḍahalli lies not only in the granting of a village by a Sthānika to a worthy individual, but also in the fact that he himself was a Jaina by persuasion! We prove that Mallappa was a Jaina by the stipulation in the epigraph that the grantees were to make an annual payment of one *gadyāṇa* for the god Candranathasvāmī. This god was evidently a Jaina deity. The second reason which makes us assert that Mallappa was a Jaina is his signature at the end of the epigraph, thus—Śrī Vitarāga.¹²⁹

In A. D. 1320 Mādhava, the son of ...va-Raya, obtained sixty *Annas*, which were the dues levied from the road to the town of Kuḍali, from the minister Bēmbeya Daṇḍayaka. With this money Mādhava bought land which in that year, along with the sixty farmers (of the locality), the 120 Sthānikas and others (*nāṇṇipattu Sthānamam muntāgi*), he presented for the decoration of the god Rama of Kuḍali. This is related in the stone inscription found in the Rameśvara temple at Kuḍali, Shimoga taluka.¹³⁰

The Sthānikas of Tēkaḷ, Veppur, and Śrīpati (Sihali) also granted lands in the manner indicated above to deserving recipients. One of the Varadarajasvāmī temple stone inscriptions of Tēkaḷ dated A. D. 1355, informs us that the Sthānapatis of the Aruḷānādan temple at Tēkaḷ along with Śokkaperumaḷ Dāsar granted (in that year) in the orthodox manner certain specified lands and a daily allowance of specified rice to Kōmangalam-uḍaiyar Suriyadevar aḷiās Tiruvaymoḷi-dāsar, the husband of Varadaḷkan, in perpetuity. Rice conjectures that the grantee was probably the reciter of the *Drāviḍaprabbandam* in the temple.¹³¹ The same Sthānapati and Śokkaperumaḷ Dāsar again in A. D. 1356 gave specified daily allowance of cooked rice to a grantee whose incomplete name in the epigraph...rāja-mānnikkaḷ aḷiās Varadi, suggests that she may have been Varadaḷkan mentioned just above.¹³²

129. *M. A. R.* for 1920, p. 35.

130. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 69, p. 27.

131. *Id.* X. Mr. 17, p. 160.

132. *E. C.* X. Mr. 21, p. 161.

The Sthanattar of Veppur likewise did not hesitate to co-operate with other citizens in this direction. Veppur lay in the Rajendra-cojavanāṣu which formed a part of the Nigarili-coja-maṇḍalam. Its well known temple was that of Śambhāvaram Uḍaiyar of Tāmarai-karai. Here in this temple assembled the Śrī Rudra-Śrī-Maheśvara of Citramēḷi Peruttaijan Diruttavayam, the temple manager (*dharmā-karttar*, i. e., *dharmā-karttar*) Śambhāḍai-deva's son Tambapa (and another whose name is effaced in the record), and other Brahmins (named) in A. D. 1365, and gave a grant (not specified) to Somapa Devar of the Kauṭika-gotra. And the Sthanapati Tambapa Jiya, evidently one of the sons of *dharmā-karttar* Śambhāḍai-devar mentioned above, having received full payment in gold, gave with pouring of water, full possession of one-third of the lands (specified in detail) which he had purchased from one Mudali, to Somapa Devar. The assembly which had met "on the seat of justice" in the Śambhāvaram-Uḍaiyar temple, obviously ratified the gift made by the Sthanika Tambapa Jiya.¹³³

The Śrī-Rudra-Śrī-Maheśvara of Citramēḷi Peruttaijan Dirukivay (the Diruttavayam of the previous record) himself was the recipient of a specified quantity of paddy and certain specified taxes in the next year A. D. 1366. He was given the above gifts by the assembly of the *mahājanas*, the heads of the *maḥas* and the *sthānas* (*maḥa-patigal-tāpa-patigalum*), the reciter of the Vedas, the temple manager (*dharmā-karttar*) Śambhāḍi, the Pujaris Valu-bhaṭṭar, Mādeva-bhaṭṭar and their sons, Māra-bhaṭṭar and his sons, the Kaikkolāre (weavers) of the temple of Kavarippūḍa, the Mūlaseḍi-Śrī-Vīra-bhaṭṭara and the servants performing various duties, "from the *pūjari* at the top the scavenger at the bottom".¹³⁴

The spirit of co-operation with which the Sthanikas in their capacity as managers of temples worked along with others, is illustrated in the Bhaira temple stone inscription from Śivibetta, Kolar taluka, and dated A. D. 1323. Periya Perumal Seṭṭi, the son of Poyyangaḷḷar Pammī Seṭṭi, a leading Vaiṣya merchant, built a big tank in Śrīpati which was the *śrīravidyāḥṭam* of the god of Śrīpati. Periya Perumal Seṭṭi also endowed the temple with a gift of two *khaṇḍugas* of dry land near the southern outlet of the big tank. His services had to be duly appreciated. The damaged stone record states that this was done by a huge assembly of representatives of the *nāḍu* (*palaru uḥṭṭa nāṭṭavarum*), including the minister Nāgaṇṇa Oḷeyar of Kaiṁāraṇāḍu in Nigarili-coja-

133. *Ibid.*, IX. Bn. 87, p. 14.

134. *Ibid.*, Bn. 86, p. 14.

vaṇaṇḍu, Rājaraṣa, the son of Brahmarasa, and the manager of the temple of Śrīpati (*Śrīpatiṭṭhānattār*). This huge assembly approved of the charity of Periya Perumāḷ by affirming that no tax was to be levied on the new land cultivated, that it was to be treated as a *sarvaṁdānya* land for a period of eight years (from that date), and that thenceforward the wet land below the tank should be *kuḍaṅgai* land.¹³⁵

From the inscriptions we learn how disputes between the Sthānikas themselves concerning division of lands were settled. The Bannahaḷḷi (Malavaḷḷi tāḷuka) stone inscription dated A. D. 1313 contains an account of how such disputes between the Sthānikas were settled. There was a dispute between Malliyappa's son Mallappanāga Paṇḍita, the Sthānāpati of ...nganavasadi, and Senapati Paṇḍita's son Vanavan, the Sthānāpati of Ānavaśadi (Āneśasadi), in respect of some villages and a sum of 1,320 *paḍyāpas* received on various occasions, some during the time of the Hoysala king Narasimha III, some during the time of Rayappa, and some at other times (specified). The arbitrators were the *Mahāpradhāna* Daḍiya Someya Daṅṇayaka's son Kāṣāḷi Gummasa, the heads of the seven *puras* (towns), the Sthānāpatīs of the five *maḷas* of Talakāḍu, and several others (named). This assembly of arbitrators sent for both the parties and brought about a reconciliation by an equal division of the villages and the sum of money. Further, it is interesting to note, it was decided that since Ānavaśadi-Āḷvar and Velāṅkarāṣvaram-Uḍaiyar were not on good terms, the villages should be amicably divided; that Ānavaśadi should receive interior villages, gardens, trees over ground, wells underground, and a proper share of the houses in the Aḍaippāri street in exchange for the houses already taken possession of by Kuḷandae-Oṇāpati; and that an equal division should be made of Malipallī situated near Takkūr in Tenkarai which had been granted for the worship of the god. Thus did the arbitrators grant a stone *sāmana* to the Sthānāpati Mallappanāga Paṇḍita.¹³⁶

Important as the above record certainly is from the point of view of the method by which arbitration in civil matters was conducted with the aid of the people, it is also interesting from the standpoint of the Sthānikas themselves whose disputes, especially those pertaining to their lands around temples, had to be settled with the sanction, and in the presence of, an official of the State, who was to work in conjunction with the representatives of the people. In other words, since the Sthānikas were officials in charge of public

135. E. G. X. Kl. 39, p. 9.

136. M. A. E. for 1926, p. 35.

charities, disputes concerning their lands had to be settled by public bodies.

The close contact between the *Sthānikas* and the representatives of public bodies and of the State is seen further in one of the Kolaramma temple stone inscriptions dated A. D. 1379 and found at Kolār itself. Devappa Jīya, the head of the Devi temple (*a devipara sthānika mukhyarūda*) had somehow or other distinguished himself. He had, therefore, to be honoured; and this was done by an assembly of the Mahantas of all the world, others (named), all the farmers, subjects, and all the *Sthānikas* of the temple of Kojāla, led by the *Mahāmāṇḍalēvara* Nagappa Odeyar's son Depappa Odeyar, the viceroy of the Vijayanagara monarch Harihara Raya II. This assembly having bound on Devappa Jīya the badge of *Jīya of the Devi temple*, granted to him all the the lands and dues belonging to Andiganaharī village in Kojālanād, free of all imposts in perpetuity. Moreover it was said that whatever lands of Jīyas of the various temples were attached to that Jīya badge would also belong to Devappa of that temple.¹³⁷

The above instances, no doubt, show in what honour the *Sthānikas* were held by the people in the fourteenth century A. D. But their high status is revealed better in the following epigraphs in which the monarch himself addressed them directly concerning the welfare of the religion and the State. All these instances belong to the reign of the last great Hoysala monarch Vira Ballala III, and are dated A.D. 1301. We have elsewhere shown what a critical age it was in which this gallant monarch lived.¹³⁸ The great enemy with whom this ruler waged continuous battles were the Muhammadans. In the year A.D. 1301 things appeared rather dark for the Hoysala monarch. For the clouds of foreign invasion were gathering ominously on the political horizon;¹³⁹ and the Hoysala king naturally looked to the protection of the most sacred trust the people had given him—the preservation of the *dharma* and of the honour of the state.

In order to realize the former object he had to take into his confidence the heads of all the religious institutions in the land. And in A.D. 1301 he did this by a most liberal policy unparalleled in the history of southern and western India. Quite a number of stone inscriptions, all of them dated in A.D. 1301, reveal the policy

137. E. C. X. Kl. 113, p. 44.

138. Salestora, *Social & Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 2, seq.

139. Salestora, *ibid.*, I, p. 14.

of co-operation and liberality which king Balliṣa Deva III inaugurated. The Someśvara temple stone inscription found at Guñjara, Bangalore tāluka, informs us that that monarch intimated the following to the heads of the *maṣṭas* and the Sthānikas situated in the Hesara-Kundāṇi kingdom, Virivāṇu, Maṣṇandinaṇṇu Muruṣṇaṇṇi, Śokkanṣyanparru, Peṇṇaṇṇaṇṇi, Aimbaṇṇaṇṇi, Elavaraṇṇi, Kuvaṇṇaṇṇi, Kaivaraṇṇi, Iṇṇaṇṇi, and "all the other *nāḍus*", thus—" [On the date specified], we have remitted all kinds of taxes, including the tax on looms, the tax on goldsmiths, tribute and tolls, hitherto paid in the gifts to the temples etc., (named) of our kingdom and granted the same, with pouring of water, for certain gods, to provide for worship, offerings of rice, enjoyments and temple repairs.

"Accordingly, be pleased to take possession of the villages of Śurikkuttai, Śingamankuttai, Kōṣamuttai, and others which are the tax-free temple property of the god Someśvara of Kuñjiyur, make adequate provision for worship, offerings of rice, enjoyments and temple repairs, and live happily, praying for the prosperity of ourselves and our kingdom."¹⁴⁰

Again in the same year king Vira Balliṣa III addressed to all the heads of the *maṣṭas* and the *sthānikas* of all the temples situated in the eleven *nāḍus* mentioned above and "in all other *nāḍus*", as the Maṣṇaṇṇi Someśvara temple inscription found at Hādī, Bangalore tāluka, relates, and remitted likewise all kinds of taxes (enumerated in detail), ordering the Sthānikas and heads of the *maṣṭas* to take possession of four villages (named) and of separate pieces of land which were the *devadāna* property of the god Someśvara-uḍaiya-nayanar of Tamarakkalai in Veppurparru. The main object of this royal bounty was, as in the previous instance, "the prosperity of ourselves and of our kingdom."¹⁴¹

An identical royal order was passed in the same year, as is mentioned in the Dharmēśvara temple stone inscription found at Ayimāḍapura, Nelamangala tāluka, Mysore state. This too was addressed to the heads of all the *maṣṭas* and the *sthānikas* in the temples situated in the eleven *nāḍus* spoken of above. The taxes remitted were the same, and the main object of the grant was like that of the two previous records. But the name of the temple to which provision was made is missing in the defaced portion of record. And unlike the two previous records, this royal order hailing from Nelamangala ends thus—That the royal grant was

140. E. G. IX, Bn. 51, p. 11. On its date, See *ibid* page, n. (2)

141. *Ibid*, Bn. 65, p. 14.

"under the protection of the kingdom, of the inhabitants of the *nāḍu* and of the *Māheśvaras*."¹⁴²

A copy of the same royal order dated in the same year was published in a stone inscription in the Gangādhareśvara temple at Madivāḷa, Malur taluka, Mysore State. It was likewise addressed to the *Sthānikas* and heads of the *maṭhas* in the eleven *nāḍus* mentioned above.¹⁴³ Another copy of the royal order dated in the same year was engraved on the basement of the Someśvara temple at Lakkur also in the same taluka.¹⁴⁴ These royal orders end in an identical manner which reveals the earnestness of the monarch, thus:— "For the benefit of ourselves and our kingdom, be pleased to see that the worship, offerings of rice, enjoyments and temple repairs are adequately provided for, and pray for our prosperity".

That there were *Sthānikas* also in other *nāḍus* is proved by another similar royal order passed also in the same year (A. D. 1301), but engraved on stone near the Kamaśvara temple at Nandi, Chikka Ballapura taluka. In this royal order in addition to the eleven *nāḍus* mentioned above, the following eleven are also said to have contained *Sthānikas* and heads of the *maṭhas*—Veppar, Brumara, Kalavaraṇaḍu, Ambaḍakki, Nandanguḷi, Tekkalnaḍu, Eṇṇaḍu, Tagadainaḍu, Paramalainaḍu (*alias* Adigaimanaḍu), Payyāsparra, and Pulliyernaḍu. The taxes remitted in this instance were similar to those mentioned in the previous order. Only the heads of the *maṭhas* and *sthanas* in the temple of the god Tirunandi *alias* southern Kailāsa, were ordered to enjoy the wet and dry lands as a *sarvaṃśāṇḍa* gift. The object of this royal edict was similar to that of the previous ones; and this charity was placed, as in the two instances mentioned above, under the protection of the king, of the inhabitants of the *nāḍu*, and of the *Māheśvaras*.¹⁴⁵

Two inscriptions found in the Cokkanātha and Someśvara temples at Domlur, both dated also in A.D. 1301, are similar forms of royal circulars addressed by the same Hoysala monarch to all the heads of *maṭhas* and *sthanas* in the eleven *nāḍus* beginning with the Hessra-Kundapi kingdom spoken of above. One of these registers the grant of remission of specified taxes, and of lands in Dombalur, to the god Śokkaparumāḷ of Dombalur in Ilaiṇṇārka-

142. *Ibid.* NL 38, p. 35.

143. E. C. X, Mr. 106, pp. 176-77.

144. *Ibid.* Mr. 71, pp. 170-71.

145. *Ibid.* CB. 20, pp. 301-302. See *ibid.* p. n. (1) for a remark on the date of this record.

nāṇu; while the other mentions a similar gift to the god Somanatha at Dombalur, the lands given as gifts being situated at Dombalur, and Palaṣṭur.¹⁴⁸ As in other records registering royal remissions, the object of these grants was the same, *viz.*, "the prosperity of ourselves and our kingdom".

From the standpoint of the Sthānikas, these royal orders mark the highest limit to which the Sthānikas reached in the course of their history. For not only have we the fact of the Sthānikas having been spread over the length and breadth of Hoysala Empire, but also the fact that the monarch himself directly addressed them, remitting many taxes to them, and in all instances requested them to look after the religious prosperity of the country and to pray for the safety of the monarch and the welfare of the land. Such royal orders are unique in the history of southern and western India; and they reveal the deep trust which the Hoysala monarch reposed in, and the high regard which he had for, the Sthānikas of his wide Empire, whose co-operation with the State was of such great importance to the religious stability of the country. These records alone embodying the orders passed by king Ballala III are enough to demonstrate the universal influence which the Sthānikas wielded in southern India in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

Coming to the fifteenth century A.D., we find that the Sthānikas, while maintaining their ancient position and dignity, continued to do much good to the country in their capacity as priests and managers of temples. Their public work earned for them adequate reward at the hands of the State. Before we narrate this interesting side of their history, it is desirable that we should give a few instances to show that in the fifteenth century, as in the previous ages, the Sthānikas were managers and priests of temples, that they granted lands to worthy people, along with others, that they were cited as witnesses to deeds of public charity, and that they enjoyed special privileges at the hands of the State. But their real importance is seen in those inscriptions which mention their public work.

A few examples may suffice to show how in addition to the very many places which the Sthānikas controlled mentioned in the previous pages, they were also the custodians of temples in other

148. *M.A.E.* for 1911, p. 50.

parts of the land. For instance, the Sthānikas were the priests and managers of the Ten Kēris of Bārakūru, one of the Ālupa capitales of South Kanara, and of the Śiva temple (now converted into a Vaiṣṇava shrine) at Phalamāru, also in the Uḍipi taluka of the same district. One of the stone inscriptions in the former place, calls Cikkappa as the Sthānapati of the Ten Kēris (*i.e.*, ten streets) of Bārakūru (*Bārakūru hatṭu kēriya sthānapati Cikkappa*). He made a request (*śiṅgaḥama*) to the State in Śaka 1329 (A.D. 1407-8) when the monarch was Bukka Rāya II.¹⁴⁷ That the original Śiva temple of Phalamāru was once ruled by a Sthānika is proved by a damaged stone record found there, and dated Śaka 1323 (A.D. 1401-2), which mentions the Sthānapati (name effaced) of that temple.¹⁴⁸

In the Telugu land as well we come across Sthānapatis managing temples. The Bhīmeśvara temple stone inscription at Peṭṭuru, Nellore district, informs us that in A.D. 1406-7 the Sthānapati of that temple was Malla Jyyaru. This temple being in ruins, was reconstructed in that year by Anna Redḍi Sigi Redḍi at the request of all classes of devotees of Peṭṭuru.¹⁴⁹

According to one of the stone inscriptions found at Bankipura, Shimoga taluka, the head of the Vankapura (Bankiypura) temple (*tal-sthāna-samrakṣakavitta*) was Cennapacārya, the son of Puragottamaṛya, a Vālkhanasa of the Kaśyapa gotra. The temple which he managed was that of the god Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa for which many specified dūas had been given by the order of the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara Rāya II. It is interesting to observe that this temple was caused to be erected "by that Mahārāya's order", as the inscription dated about A.D. 1413 relates.¹⁵⁰ No other evidence is required to prove that the Sthānikas were servants of the State in Vijayanagara times; and that they were the priests and managers of temples which were constructed by the rulers themselves.

The damaged Kuravalli stone inscription (Tirthahalli taluka) dated about A.D. 1424, affirms that the son of the *Āṇaprabhu* Bommiyakka's son, whose name is effaced in the record, on account of his marriage, sold certain specified lands to the Sthānika Govappa Ayya, the son of Devappa Ayya. Although the name of the temple is not mentioned in the inscription, we suppose it was the same Viśveśvara temple near which the record was found.¹⁵¹

147. 154 B. of 1901; S. I. I., VII, 346, p. 206.

148. 87 of 1901; S. I. I. VII, 267, p. 137.

149. Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, II. p. 808.

150. N. C. VII. Sh. 20, pp. 15-16.

151. Ibid., VIII. Tl. 175., p. 192.

One of the Śitibēṭṭa stone inscriptions dated about A.D. 1468 relates that Apparasar, the household officer of Rāmaraṣa of the Mari palace, and Basavaṇṇa, granted to the Sthānika priest Bayirayya of the temple of the god Bhairava of Sīhatl, three *ḥonnu* and three *ṣaṇa* from the revenue of Turavālahāṣi in Pulinaḍu. This endowment was for the god Bhairava of Sīhatl.¹⁵² On the basis of this inscription it may be asserted that the Sthānikas as priests of temples, received grants of money on behalf of temples which they managed.

In Kallaru hobli of the Gabbi taluka, Mysore State, is the Kapale Siddha Mallikārjuna temple. The Sthānika priest of this temple in A.D. 1470, during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virupākṣa Mahārāya, was Somayya Deva. His younger sister Honni Devi is also mentioned in the same record, but the context cannot be determined because the inscription is damaged. It may be noted, however, that the temple of Mallikārjuna had been restored by Kallarsāyamma, the wife of the *Mahāśaṇṇa* whose name, too, is effaced in the record. She had richly endowed the temple with specified lands.¹⁵³

Of the famous Vaiṣṇava temple of Ahobalam, Nandyaḷ taluka, Kurnool district, the Sthānikas were the trustees in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great.¹⁵⁴ The Paṇikeśvara temple in the same taluka, was also under the Sthānikas. This is proved by a stone record found in that temple and dated A. D. 1503 which informs us that during the reign of the Vijayanagara monarch Immāḍi Narasiṅga Mahārāya, a grant of specified land was made for the merit of the king and of Narasa Nayaka, evidently by the ruler himself, to the four Sthānikas of the Paṇikeśvara temple, for building a village and conducting the services in the same temple.¹⁵⁵

There is the well known temple of Mañjunātha at Kadri, a suburb of Mangalore in South Kanara. The trustees and priests of this temple were Sthānikas. This is proved by a stone inscription found in that temple and dated Śaka 1397 (A. D. 1475) in which the following is narrated :— That during the reign of the Vijayanagara monarch Virupākṣa Deva, when his *Mahāśaṇṇa* Singappa Daggayaka was carrying on the administration of the Empire, by the order of the latter Viṭṭharasa Oḷeyar was governing the Bṛakṛta-rājya in Tuluva. The local chieftains who carried on the work of administration in Tuluva were the Cantars and the

152. *Ibid.* X. Kl. 36, p. 9.

153. *Ibid.* XII. Gb. 30, p. 23.

154. For further details, refer to *Ep. Rep. S. Circle for 1915*, pp. 84-85.

155. 168 of 1913; Rangacharya, *Top. List*, II, p. 967.

Bangars. Attached to the Mangaluru-rājya was the Kadariya temple of which the four Sthanikas by name Ravālapali, Ganapappa Āṭva, Rāyapa Senabova, and Gomma Senabova, agreeing among themselves gave a sale deed written in stone, and specified in detail, to Māngalantha Odeyar.¹⁵⁶

But the Sthanikas could also co-operate with the representatives of the people in bestowing honours upon worthy citizens. We have seen that this was one of their public functions in the pre-Vijayanagara days. Mangarasa, the son of Mahādeva of the Gaurima gotra, had built a tank in Vāṇiyanaḥalli in Hodenāḍ, and constructed the Hiri-Mangasamudra. The stone inscription found below the Muḷḷukunte tank at Vāṇiyanaḥalli in the Mājbagal taluka, and dated A. D. 1407, continues to relate that on the completion of this work of public utility, the Sthanikas of the goddess Gauri of Uttanur Majavāla, the mortgagees (ṛ) and the citizens gave Mangarasa a *śāsana* for rent free rice land as a *kaṭṭu goḍaga* for the tank, as follows:— Two parts (in ten) of the rice land below and within that tank were given as *kaṭṭu goḍaga*; and two parts (in ten) were given to Mangarasa's children, free of all taxes, in perpetuity.¹⁵⁷

A more interesting example of Sthanikas rewarding not ordinary citizens but Brahmans themselves for having done some public work is afforded in the stone inscription found in the Nācramma temple at Mājbagal itself. This inscription is dated A. D. 1416, and it refers to the reign of king Pratāpa Deva Raya (i. e., Deva Raya II) when his *Mahāpradhāna* Naganṇa Odeyar was placed over the Mājbagal kingdom. The officer under this viceroy was Annanādāni Odeyar, who "was maintaining the proper *dharma*, and firmly protecting the Mājbagal kingdom." The inscription continues to relate that "by order of the original goddess of Mājbagal, Muḷuvayi Nācidevi", her Sthanikas Balipa, Maṇiya, and Māripa, the sons of Keśava Perumāle, and the latter's younger brother Āvāmbaja, agreeing among themselves, gave to Śivarāstri Viṭṭhappa, Mallappa, and other Brahmans a *śāsana* as follows:—"The Araḷi dam in the Palāru river in the Katuriyahalli *śime* belonging to our Muḷuvayi Nācidevi, having been breached from time immemorial and ruined down to the level of the ground, in order that you may expend much money and restore the dam so as to form a tank, and build there a village named Muḷuvayi-Nācīpura, we grant to you the tract of land bounded as follows (boundaries enumerated in detail)—, in which you may cut down the jungle and form fields. And the rice lands under and in the

156, *8th N. of 1901*: S. I. I. VII. 194, p. 85.

157, *E. C. X. Mh. 131*, p. 109.

area of the tank which you construct, dividing them into four parts one part will belong to the treasury of our Mujuvāyi Nācidevi, and in consideration of your having expended much money of your own, and constructed the tank, the remaining three parts we grant, with the land (before mentioned), to your Brahmins as an *agrahāra*, free of all imposts, from our Mujuvāyi Nācidevi. All the usual rights of the villages named Mujuvāyi Nācipurā which you build, we also grant. If any damage arises to your tank, it belongs to your Brahmins to repair it." This agreement was inscribed on stone "in front of our Mujuvāyi Nācidevi" (temple).¹⁶⁸

About sixty-six years later (circa A.D. 1482) the Sthānikas of the temple of the god Bhairava (in Sihāl in Kolār ?) gave similar expression to their public spirit when they bestowed an agreement (*śādana*) on the Cenji hill Gavunda Chini Jiya and his sons Bayirappa and Oḥru Bayica. The Kāmavāṇṇyakanaḥalli stone inscription (Kolār taluka) which contains these details is dated A.D. 1482. It relates that to the father and two sons who had built a new the Balakere (tank) below the old breached one at Sihāl (Śripati), and made a sluice, and fixed the money payment for the land under it, the Sthānikas of the god Bhairava gave the revenue of the rice fields so formed two shares to be divided among themselves and to be enjoyed by them and their posterity, while one share was reserved for the Sthānikas themselves as "*dharma* to the god's treasury". The tank was the inalienable property of the donees, who could sow and raise any crops on the rice fields.¹⁶⁹

The evidence of the above inscription, in addition to that concerning the award of honours to worthy citizens which we have cited above, proves that the lands enjoyed by the Sthānikas around the temples which they managed, were not their private property, but were considered as "*dharma* to the god's treasury". That is to say, in all instances the Sthānikas, as the reader must have realized from the numerous instances we have already given above, were trustees on behalf of the god or goddesses in temples.

One more instance may be adduced to show that the Sthānikas, who rewarded worthy citizens with grants of land, did so in their capacity as trustees of the property of the deity in the temple. The Rayagundahalli stone inscription, Mulbagal taluka, dated A.D. 1496, tells us that Devappa, the son of Koṇḍappa-Timmappa, and the Sthānika of the temple of the god Narasiṃha,

168. E. C. X. Mb. 7, pp. 72-73.

169. E. C. X. Kl. 18, p. 4.

granted a *kottu-godage* to Alapa's son Narasimhadeva. The reason why the Sthanika priest granted a *kottu-godage* gift to Narasimhadeva was because the latter had expended money and caused a virgin tank to be constructed in the Mavinahalli village to the west of the old tank of Gundalanahalli, forming an embankment with plenty of earth, building it with stones, fixing a stone sluice and making it secure with bricks and mortar, thoroughly completing the tank in every detail. For this work of public utility the Sthanika Devappa "by the order of the god Narasimha" (i.e., Kadiri, Lakshmi Narasimha of the village of Gundalanahalli alias Narasimhapura in Hodenāḍi) gave four parts of the rice raised on the lands under the tank to the donee, along with very many privileges enumerated in detail.¹⁶⁰

Another aspect of the public character of the Sthanikas is given in the interesting record found in the Ivara temple at Dodda Belahāṇa, Hunsur taluka, and dated A.D. 1423. This stone epigraph tells us that the Sthanikas were called as witnesses to a deed of public charity. Tippe Setti of the Vijayanagara treasury, was a very pious and superstitious soul. He dedicated to the god Tirumala the tank which he had constructed in order that merit might accrue to his parents. But this consecration had to be done publicly, according to the usage of the day. And Tippe Setti did it in A.D. 1423 in the presence of the chief and holy meritorious Brahmana, the Sthanikas, the Nambis, the body-servants of the god Tirumala, and Virappa-aya of Kariyamāranahalli. And to these witnesses were added others—the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the eight Regents of the Compass, the snake charmers, the tellers of omens by lizards, and such other "sacred persons," of an unusually strange category.¹⁶¹

But as in the previous ages, the Sthanikas were prominent not only because they were called as witnesses to deeds of public charity, but also because they possessed privileges and were entitled to special exemptions. This is proved by the following epigraphs one of which was found in the Kaṇveśvara temple at Bellār, Narasapura hobli, Kolār taluka. In this inscription dated A. D. 1406, it is related that by order of the Vijayanagara monarch Deva Raya (I), the *Mahāpradhāna* Bommanṇa Daṇḍayaka's son (unnamed) granted the villages of Bayilakunte and Tujilahalli, the former of which was given by the Kannara Deva Raya, and the latter by the Vijayanagara Emperor himself, for the god Soma of Bellār alias Viṣṇuvardhanacaturvedimangalam, together with all

160. E. C. I. Mb. 172, p. 116.

161. Ibid. IV. Ha. 27, p. 80.

the lands and rights (specified) pertaining thereto. The concluding portion of the grant affirms that by that order of the Vijayanagara Emperor, Malidevi Rāpi, the daughter of Duḥṇidava Rāpi, remitted the taxes (given in detail) payable for the houses of the Sthānikas in that country and the other sacred buildings. How the office of the Sthānikas was connected with the *sthāna* attached to a temple is proved in the text of the inscription which recounts the exemption thus—*a nīrūpadīm Duḥi-Nidava Rāpiyara maga (magaju?) Malidevi Rāpiyaru ā kimeya devara Sthānikadalu Sthānikara mana-modalāda madavaḥike sahu...raya-kāpika sunka teravāḥike saha sarvama...ā devara...gaḥu...teruva vīdhāti...*¹⁰⁰

The Someśvara temple inscription found at Cidaravalli, Mysore district, corroborates the statement made above concerning the office of the Sthānikas. This inscription which is dated A. D. 1420 of the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Deva Raya II, informs us that lands were given for the office (*sthāna*) of the temple. Such lands were called *sthāna bhūmi*. The inscription registers the remission of taxes on houses, gardens, and tanks belonging to the *sthāna-bhūmi* of the temple (*yi devara sthāna-bhūmi ajagāda mantāla kere mānyavendu koṭṭu*), including the land belonging to the Sthānikas Rayaje, Sōmayaje, and Ketaje of the temple of Somayyadeva at Cidaravalli. The donors were the Purabovus Guḍḍayappa Vayisanna of Mallināthapura, who was the chief of the forty-two *purus* of Tajakajunāḍ, Mādayya Somayya of Sindayapura, Denna of Kamagoppanapura, and Sambadeva of Cidaravallipura. Certain Gaṇḍas (named) also joined in making the grant which the donors inscribed on stone.¹⁰¹

There were two reasons why the houses of the Sthānikas were exempted from taxation. Firstly, the Sthānikas being

100. E. C. X, Kl. 94, p. 29 the text clearly says *Duḥi-nāḍi unāpiyara maga*, etc. Now both Nidivarāpi and Malidevirāpi were princesses. How the latter could be termed *maga* (son) is not intelligible, except on the supposition that Malidevi Rāpi assumed the dignity of a male ruler as queen Rudrāmbā had done in the Telugu country. As regards exemptions, cf. Kl. 100, p. 30 where the Nambis seem to get a similar privilege.

101. M. A. E. for 1933, pp. 268-269. Dr. Krishna takes the name Rayaje Someyaje Ketaje to be the name of one person. (*Ibid.*, p. 269) But it is doubtful if this were so; for the plural ending *vīvara mānyavēḍu*, etc., suggests that the names belonged to three different persons. Dr. Krishna also makes Guḍḍayappa and others donors. I would make them donors. Otherwise the record makes no sense, and we cannot understand the significance of the statement *purabovapūḥu... mānyavēḍu koṭṭu*.—B. A. S.

managers and custodians of temples were public servants, and as such were entitled to some special consideration at the hands of the State. And, secondly, the *Sthānikas*, especially in the fifteenth century A. D., had given ample evidence of their zeal to promote public weal. There are many examples of the public benefactions of the *Sthānikas*. The Ujenigrama stone inscription found at Bejarapura, Kūṇigal taluka, Mysore State, is one of them. This record dated A. D. 1429 refers to the reign of the Vijayanagara Emperor Pratāpa Rāya (i. e., Deva Rāya II), when Bayicarsa, the son of Ujenī Rāma Gauḍa, Muttu Gauḍa, the son of Maṣṣa Gauḍa, and all the older Gauḍas and subjects of Ujenī granted by a *sāma* a *koḍage* gift to Cāmarasa, the son of Ujenī Bayicarsa. The reason why such a gift was given was that Cāmarasa and the *Sthānikas* had provided the funds and entered into an agreement for the construction of the tank to the east of the town. On the completion of the tank, the donors mentioned above granted specified lands as free gift to the *Sthānikas* and Cāmarasa.¹⁶⁴

The *Sthānikas* could add to public welfare in other directions as well. For instance, when a need arose in a town to have the calendar-makers or *pañcāṅgadavaru*, they applied directly to the State and had those useful functionaries established in a town. In A. D. 1472 in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virupakṣa Rāya, as is related in the Svayambhūteśvara temple stone inscription found at Maḍivāḷa, Bowringpet taluka, Singarasa, one of the two officials under the Bētamaṅgala officer Līṅga Rāja, came to Bētamaṅgala. He came to Bētamaṅgala because the *Sthānikas* of the locality had petitioned to him to establish *pañcāṅgadavaru* (or calendar-makers) in that country, and grant them a *dharma sāsana* for the exaltation of the god (*sthānadavaru bandu yi śimege.....la-sthāpanavaru māḍi dāvara saṭiyali pañcāṅgadavara dharma-sāsanaṁ varasi koḍabeku endu kōralāgi*). On which Singarasa marked out the four boundaries, had them stamped with the seal, and evidently had the calendar-makers established in that town (for the record stops here).¹⁶⁵

The *Sthānikas* of the god Bhairava Sthāni (Śrīpati) had once paid twenty-eight *gadyāṅgas* for the wages of the watchmen. This was, indeed, a work of much public good. Therefore, Narasaya Deva Mahārāya, the son of Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Timmaya Deva Mahārāsa, in the reign of the Vijayanagara monarch Immadi Narasiṅga Rāya, in A.D. 1495, as is related in one of the stone inscriptions found in the Śitibetṭa, Kolar taluka, gave to Gaḷiya and

164. E. C. XII. Pg. 18, p. 36.

165. E. C. X. Pg. 12, p. 129.

the other Sthānikas of the god Bhairava of Sthasti a *sūksma* by which he granted the alms and tribute to the Kōjalāsime within the jurisdiction of his nāyakaship, for the offerings of the god Bhairava for a new car festival to be held for nine days, and for the expenses of extra sacrifices, lamps, and offerings, in the same temple.¹⁶⁶

SIXTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

In the sixteenth century the Sthānikas maintained their traditional high dignity and importance of their office. They were still priests and managers of temples. As trustees of temples which were public institutions, they granted lands and rewards to worthy recipients; and in the same capacity they approached directly the State in connection with important public matters. The epigraphs of the previous centuries enabled us to affirm that there was a very close contact between the State and the Sthānikas. The records of the sixteenth century A.D. help us to assert that the Sthānikas were appointed by the State, and as such were servants of the State.

In about A.D. 1500 the priest of the Bhīmaśvara temple in the Chintamani taluka, Mysore State, was the Sthānika Nājanḍa Jiya. Along with some other Sthānikas whose names are effaced in this record found at Gutṭahalli, he made a grant for the same god.¹⁶⁷ The temple priest of the god Śrīdeva of the Tekalāsime was the Sthānika Nayanārāya, who, as is related in the damaged stone record discovered at Timmantiyanahalli, Tekal hobli, and dated A.D. 1508, received a grant in connection with the construction of the Tippasamudra. The donor was evidently Saṅya Gopa Raja.¹⁶⁸

The same Nayanārāya, called Nayinarāya in the inscription found in the Kamaśheśvara temple at Tekal, was the recipient of a gift of the village of Hujadevanahalli at the hands of Yaṇapa Nāyaka, the son of Pareyada Rama Nāyaka, and the lord of the village of Hujadevanahalli belonging to the Tekalāsime which was included in the eighteen *nāḍas*. The grant was made in A.D. 1542 when the Emperor Acyuta Rāya was ruling, to Nayanārāya, who is called the Sthānika of the gods Somaya and Rāmanayalinga of Tekal. The Sthānika was to provide for offerings of rice to the gods, and the object of the grant is stated thus:— "As a charity of Acyuta Rāya." This last clause enables us to affirm that the gift was made at the royal bidding.¹⁶⁹

166. *Ibid.*, Kl. 34, p. 8.

167. *E. C. X.* Kl. 134, p. 268.

168. *Ibid.*, Mr. 46, p. 167.

169. *M. A. R. for 1918-1919*, p. 48.

In A.D. 1552 when the same Vijayanagara Emperor was ruling, Keroṅga Timmarasa was assigned the village of Śāntigrāma for his office of *amara-nāyaka*. This noble was presented the village of Vogarahalli for the daily offerings of the god Dharmēvara and of the processional image Candrasekhara, and for feeding ten Brahmans. The entire endowment was made over to the Sthānika priest Dēvarubhaṭṭa. This is related in the stone inscription found in the Dharmēvara temple at Grāma, Hassan taluka, Mysore State.¹⁷⁰

That the Sthānikas were, indeed, the priests in a temple is further proved by one of the Basavapura stone records (Chāmarajanagara taluka), assigned by Rice to A.D. 1552. In this inscription it is said that by order of the god Anilēvara (*śrī-Anilēvara-nīrūpadim*) Timmarasayya, together with the Sthānika and the Senabova (neither being named), made a gift of *koḍagi* free of all imposts, for the celestial *Raga*.¹⁷¹

The managers and priests of the Someśvara temple in Malbāgal were Sthānikas. This is related in the Padmatritha stone inscription dated only in the cyclic year Paridhāvi but of the reign of the Vijayanagara Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya (A.D. 1642—A.D. 1667). According to this inscription some land in the Majurvyināḍa was granted, free of all imposts, as *bhāṭavṛtti* to the Sthānikas of the temple of the god Someśvara of Malbāgal. This fragmentary record does not unfortunately give the name of the donor. But the fact that the land granted was meant as *bhāṭavṛtti* (subsistence grant to priests) is enough to prove that the Sthānikas were Bhattas or Brahmans.¹⁷²

Why were such lands granted to the Sthānikas, and what precisely were the duties that were expected of them? These questions are answered in the Virabhadra temple stone inscription found at Hassan. It is dated A.D. 1563, and it mentions also the same Vijayanagara Emperor. In this year a grant of specified taxes was made in the village of Kudurignuḍi (mod. Kudreguḍi, Doddaballī, Hassan taluka), by Bukkappa Nāyaka, a subordinate of Bra Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka. The donees were the Sthānikas (unnamed) of the same Virabhadra temple. The object of the grant was "that prosperity and merit might accrue to Bayappa Nāyaka's son Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka." The duties of the Sthānikas are mentioned thus in the same record:—"We, Bukkappa Nāyaka, younger

170. E. C. V. Ha. 115, p. 33.

171. E. C. IV. Ch. 140, p. 12.

172. M. A. R. for 1924, p. 60.

brother of Tammappa Nāyaka, the son of Kācappa Nāyaka, have, while granting the above with pouring of water, ordered that food offerings might be made to the god Virabhadra of Kudurigunḍi, both during the day and in the evening, and granted this charter of gift (*dharmaśāstana*) for carrying on the service of offering incense, lights, and food to the said god in order that Bayappa Nāyaka's son Kṛṣṇapa Nāyaka-ayya might rule over many more kingdoms.¹⁷³

One of the features we noted concerning the Sthānikas in the previous pages in the pre-Vijayanagara age was that pertaining to their public spirit which prompted them to award distinctions to persons who had done some service to the people. This singular feature still marked the Sthānikas in the sixteenth century A.D. An inscription on a boulder near the Venkatarāmanasvāmi temple at Rajagunḍaballi, Malbagal taluka, dated A.D. 1508, illustrates our statement. A citizen named Kadiri Narasimhadeva had in that year constructed a new tank in Gunḍaballi which village belonged to the offerings of the god Kadiri Narasimha of Malbagal. On his completing this work of public utility, the Sthānikas of the god Kadiri Narasimha, by name Viṭṭhesya and Kuppaya, the latter being the nephew (*aṅga*) of Anantapa, granted to Kadiri Narasimhadeva a *sūgubāṭiya* *vāṭa* (or cultivation roll) of the rice land below the tank. In this deed of reward the Sthānikas said that deducting his *daśavanda* rice fields under the tank which he had caused to be constructed, they had granted him according to the rule for cultivation of the rice lands of the temple, by measurement eight *khaṇḍugas* for seven *khaṇḍugas* of *koḍaga*. How considerate the Sthānikas were is seen in the next two clauses of the deed of reward:—If the water in the tank failed and the crop was lost, the Sthānikas would share equally (the loss). If the water in the tank was insufficient, and had to be lifted, the Sthānikas would reduce the contract in the same proportion as those in the neighbourhood.¹⁷⁴

Some such reason as the above might have induced the Samsthānakulu (i.e., the Sthānikas) of the temple of Kailāsanātha and Bhīma in Chikamākūru, Nellore district, when in A.D. 1518-19, as is narrated in a stone record found at that place, they granted in perpetuity one *kuṣāḷa* of dry land on the boundary and

173. *M. A. B.* for 1936, p. 82. An undated and damaged record found in the Rāmeśvara temple of Heggōṭha, Bejapurs, Chamarājyanagura taluka, registers a gift of land to the Sthānika Ningayya of the temple of Rāmeśvara. *E.C.* IV. Ch. 106, text, p. 40.

174. *E. C. X. Mb.* 173, p. 117.

ten *kunja*s of wet land as *sarvamānya* gift to Mādarametta Singiriyaṣyaṇu.¹⁷⁵

Indeed, we have valid reasons to maintain that in the sixteenth century A.D. the Sthānikas, in their capacity as trustees of temples, were not slow in recognizing the worth of deserving citizens. They even co-operated with the officials of the State in granting rewards to such people. For instance, in A.D. 1530, as is told in an inscription found near Elavagudi, Malur taluka, Mysore State, during the reign of the Emperor Acyuta Raya, the Sthānikas (not named) of Telaiyāṇa, included in the eighteen *sāḍas*, and Varadapa, the Agent for the Affairs of the Vijayanagara viceroys, whose name is effaced in the record, granted land to the Senabova Timmarasa for having built a tank.¹⁷⁶

The precise reason which made the Sthānikas of the god Dharmasvara at Hosahalligrāma, Hosakote taluka, by name Hariyapa, Cikapa, the son of Caipa Jya, Marasaya Appapaya, the son of Cikapa Caipa Jya, and Hiriya, the son of Manicaya, give a *śāśana* to Kappayyapurusa, cannot be made out in the effaced record dated about A.D. 1562 and found in the same Dharmasvara temple.¹⁷⁷ We can only assume that the gift was made in recognition of some work of public utility.

Nothing illustrates the importance and power of the Sthānikas in the sixteenth century as the following record found in the Karivaradarkāperumāl temple in Āraṅgūr, Salem district. This epigraph is dated Śaka 1441, Pramāthin, Mithuna, Śu. di. 13 Friday, which works out correctly to A.D. 1519, June the 10th Friday. On this day three Sthānikas of the temple of Perumāl Karayivar went on a deputation to the Emperor at Vijayanagara, and complained of the injustice done by the authorities (*vāḍapāram*) stationed at Deviyakugucol, a village belonging to the temple. The chief *amiaram* Timmarasa introduced them to the king, got their grievances redressed, presented them each with a garland, a head dress, a horse, and an umbrella, and granted 900 *kūḍi* of wet land at Ponparappi and at Deviyakugucol as a *sarvamānya* gift.¹⁷⁸ The ruler who is referred to in this record could only have been Kṛṣṇa Deva Raya the Great (A.D. 1519-A.D. 1529).

It was a singular privilege, indeed, which the Sthānikas possessed of going on a deputation directly to the monarch, and of

175. Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, p. 1157.

176. *M. A. R. for 1912-1913*, p. 48.

177. *E. C. IX. Ht. 35*, p. 91.

178. *449 of 1915*; Rangacharya, *Top List*, II, pp. 1205-1206.

levelling a charge of high-handedness against officials of the State. Ordinary priests and citizens under the Vijayanagara Government had, no doubt, as we have amply shown elsewhere,¹⁷⁹ the right of direct appeal to the State; but in no instance were the plaintiffs pacified and sent home loaded with presents as in this case!

We have now to enquire into the causes which made the Sthānikas bold enough to go on a deputation to the monarch at Vijayanagara. The fact is that the Sthānikas in the Vijayanagara Empire, especially in those public temples owned and controlled by the State, were servants of the State, and as such were entitled to privileges which were denied to ordinary priests and citizens.

Proof is not wanting to show that the Sthānikas were directly controlled by the Vijayanagara Government. Indeed, the Vijayanagara Government even regulated minute details of worship in temples always, of course, with the co-operation of the representatives of the *nāḍu* or district, and according to the constitutional usage of the country (*pārvada marppāde*). We have shown elsewhere how in the reign of king Harhara Raya II (A.D. 1377—A.D. 1404), Tirumali Nāyaka, an officer of the Government, settled a dispute between the Sthānikas themselves of the Kāmeśvara temple at Āragalur. The most equitable judgment given by this Vijayanagara judge reveals, among other things, the fact that the Sthānikas were completely at the mercy of the Vijayanagara Government.¹⁸⁰

More direct evidence is supplied by the following epigraph which affirms in unmistakable terms that the Sthānikas were subordinate to the State. The damaged Kodipalli stone inscription dated A.D. 1521 found in the Mājhaḡal taluka, tells us that the temple of the god Some (Someśvara?) on the rock of the Kongajanaradinne was in ruins (?), and that the Ares and others (names effaced) re-set up that god, granting for his worship and ceremonies the village of Upukunthe. And for the same purpose, *vis.*, for performing worship and ceremonies of the god Someya, the Ares and others appointed Daduga, the son of Candrapaya of the Kauśika *gotra*, as the Sthānika of the god. The appointment of the Sthānika and the re-setting up of the god was done by the Ares and others with the permission of the Vijayanagara viceroy Annadāna Oḍeyar (*Annadāna Oḍeyara nirūpa-viḍiḍu*).¹⁸¹ This last clause shows that the State controlled the appointment of the Sthānikas in temples.

179. Salstere. *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, p. 367. Seq.

180. Salstere *S. P. Life*, I, pp. 375-376.

181. E. C. X, Mb. 163, p. 110.

The Virabhadra temple stone inscription found at Harañukōṭe, Chāmarājanagara taluka, also illustrates our point. In the record dated A.D. 1523 we are informed that during the reign of the monarch Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, Jaḍeyāru Modaliyār, the son of Tiravēṅgaḍa of Tuḡunudipaka, was the Agent for the *māgaṇi* of the Minister Saluva Govinda Rāya Oḍeyar. Jaḍeyāru Modaliyār set up the god Virabhadra in the village of Haṭṭalakōṭe, granting certain lands for his worship. The record says the following:—“All these, and whatever other grants may be made by kings or any one else, will belong to the Sthānika Allappa, the agent for the temple of the god. He will take possession of them, and appointing such temple servants as he wishes, will continue the temple services from time to time (*śrutiāda sarvasvāmyakṣe arasagaḷu matt-ārādaru dharmasakṣe koṭṭantā śmagaḷu yēnuṭiāda sarva-svāmyada vellakku Dēvara-sthānakke karīṇāda Allappayage vīlu-udu Dēvara-sime illavannu anubhavinḱoṇḍu Dēvara śrī-kāraḱke [kāryakṣe] takkēanthā tamma manasu bandolli arcakarannu śrīnḱoṇḍu śrī-kāravannu vōḷe-vōḷe naḍḱeḱoṇḍu bahannu*). Further the epigraph continues thus:—“The *pārupatyagāra* (i. e., the Executive Official appointed by the Vijayanagara State over temples) has no authority to inquire into the affairs of this god, and no one else has any connection with it. Allappa will be the agent of the temple, and no one else has any connection with it. Thus has the charter been given.”¹⁸²

No better evidence than the above is needed to prove that not only was there clear distinction between temple *arcakas* and other temple servants on the one hand, and the Sthānikas on the other, as we have demonstrated in an earlier context, but that the Sthānikas as trustees of the properties of the gods in temples were independent even of the *Pārupatyagāra*, who was also a high official of the State. This was specially true of the Vijayanagara age.

Further epigraphic evidence may be cited to substantiate our statement concerning the official status of the Sthānikas. A Tamil epigraph at the entrance of the Vyāsarāya *maṭha* at Tirupati, dated A. D. 1523, states that by the order of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great and his subordinate official Narasimha Rāya Mahārāya, the Sthānika (Sthāgattār) of the temple of Tirupati granted a house and certain honours to the *Breaker of the pride of False disputants*, Vyāsārāya Śrīpāda.¹⁸³ The donee was one of the most celebrated Vaiṣṇava

182. E. C. IV. ch. 99, 13-4.

183. M. A. R. for 1920, p. 37.

teachers of the age.¹⁸⁴ According to a damaged Telugu record found in the Īvara temple at Gōraṇṭa, Anantapur district, and dated A. D. 1533-4, when the Emperor Acyuta Rāya was ruling, Timmappa Nāyudu, the son of Vakiṭi Mallappa Nāyudu, ordered the Sthānikas, citizens, and the temple cooks to revive the processions in the Perumāḷ temple at Gōraṇṭa, which had been neglected till then.¹⁸⁵

That the Kāṭalyan conception of the Sthānika being an official and of the *sthāna* being the office which he held, survived even till the sixteenth century (and after) is proved by the Majaleśvara temple record found at Kōjamballī, Chennappattana taluka, Mysore State. This inscription dated A. D. 1534 of the time of the same Vijayanagara monarch, relates that Mādarama, the son of Penugonḍe Aḍayada Vāraṇṣi Śarappa, gave a *dharma sādhana* (or a gift of land) for the god Majaleśvara of Kōjamballī in the Cennappattana sime. The *dharma sādhana* deed ran as follows:—That the Saragur village (location specified in detail) which belonged to the nāyakauship of Mādaram's lord (*aḍayar*), the Treasurer (*bhaṇḍārada*) Timmappaya, was granted for the god Majaleśvara. The object of the grant was patriotic—that *dharma* may be to the Emperor Acyuta Rāya. And the last clause is of particular importance for our purpose. It states that Mādaram granted specified land to Candrasekhara for the office of the temple trustee of Saragur (*yī Saragūrina Sthānikatānakke Candrasekharape padda hattu kōjaga hola bhāṇḍaga valahudu*).¹⁸⁶ This last statement sufficiently establishes our contention that a Sthānika was essentially the holder of an office in historical times, at the hands of the monarch himself or of the latter's officials.

The Malleśvara temple stone inscription found at Nandagūḍī, Hoakōṭa taluka, Mysore State, is another record which substantiates our statement. In this epigraph dated A. D. 1559 we are told that when the Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya was ruling, the *Mahāmaṇḍa-lesvara* Rāma Rāya Tirumala Rāya Mahā-arasa's Agent was Sugaṭur Timmana Gaṇḍa-ayya. This last named official in order that merit might accrue to his own parents and his *guru*, presented as a gift the village of Simasandra (location given) in his own Sugaṭarsime, for the offerings to the god Mallikarjuna at Nāṇjigūḷi. The concluding statement in the epigraph affirms that the above village was made over

184. On this renowned personage, read Salstore, *S. P. Life*, I, pp. 280-1, 263, 450 n. (i) II, 5, 126, 143, 226, 267 (n).

185. *ISS of 1918*; Rangacharya, *Top List*, I, p. 9.

186. *E. C. IX*. Cp. 53, p. 143.

to the Sthānika Appāji, directing him to continue the worship (*. . . dharma vāgabakendu Sthānika Apājige pājeyanu samaryāṣaikoṇḍu yirendu kōṣṭha dharma sādhanā*).¹⁸⁷

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES A.D.

Instances may be multiplied to show that the Sthānikas, who as public officials had wielded great authority in the sixteenth century, continued to exercise equally powerful influence in the seventeenth century and after. As long as the government of the land remained in the hands of one or the other of the Hindu royal families, so long was no attempt made either by the State or its officials to dispossess the Sthānikas of their ancient privileges and powers which Hindu Governments, as the above epigraphs ranging over many centuries undoubtedly prove, consistently recognised, and in some instances deliberately enhanced. So that our survey of the topic under discussion may be complete, we may give just a few instances of the power and status of the Sthānikas in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries A.D. During these two centuries they continued to be trustees and priests of temples; and they co-operated with the other respectable citizens in conferring honours upon worthy people, or in making beneficial regulations on behalf of communities other than their own. And epigraphs likewise prove, as in the earlier ages, that in these two centuries, the Sthānikas were essentially State servants.

We know that Sthānika Lingappa Oḡeyya's son Candrasekhara Oḡeyya performed worship of the god Kalleśvara in Kalyagrāma, Magaḍi taluka, Mysore State, in A.D. 1621, during the *reign* of the Yalahankand Prabhu Immaḍi Kempa Gaḍa, from a damaged stone inscription found in that temple.¹⁸⁸

Another damaged stone record in the Cennakeśvara temple at Chazerla, Nellore district, dated about A.D. 1697-98 informs us that that temple, too, possessed a Sthānāpālī whose name is effaced in the epigraph. It is not unlikely that he was called Naganathan Timmaṣojhulu of the Yajus śakha and the Kaundinya gotra, who along with the god Cennakeśava received a village (name lost) as a perpetual gift at the hands of Śrīmat Māradattamāra.¹⁸⁹

We may mention in this connection that practically in our own century the trustee of the Viṣṇu temple at Śinnamaṣṇar,

187. E. C. IX, Ht. 1 p. 88. It is said that the Sthānikas of the Gaḍa Brahmaṣya temple (at 1) were Golla Sthānikas. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XX, Suppl. p. 4 (1929, Oct.)

188. E. C. IX, Ma. 26, p. 54

189. Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, I. p. 228.

Periyakulam taluka Madura district, was a Sthānika. His name was Bhairava Ayyar.¹⁹⁰

An instance may be given of a Sthānika who co-operated with other persons in conferring honours upon deserving citizens. A defaced inscription from Uttanūr, Mulbagal taluka, and dated about A. D. 1636, relates that the Sthānika Nayaka Pallavodari Nāyinar, the temple priest of the goddess Kavalaba of Uttanūr Majavala, together with the farmers and citizens (*ā-ura samastha pauda prajagaṇa*) granted specified land to Sūryappa under the Idagere tank, evidently for having built that tank.¹⁹¹

The Sthānikas aided social legislation as well. One of the Cennakesava temple stone inscriptions of Belar dated about A.D. 1700, informs us that the merchants, the town-mayer, and the Sthānikas (*seṭṭi-paṭṭaṇa-avānigaṇa Belāru sthānadaṅṅaru*) established certain social regulations concerning the washermen caste of the fifty-six countries. Among these regulations was one to the following effect:—That the tax for the washermen caste was 1 *varāḥa* for a virgin woman and four *varāḥa* for one whose husband was dead.¹⁹²

As regards the control exercised by the State over the Sthānikas, the following epigraphs not only prove that the Sthānikas were servants of the State, but that the latter also held them in high esteem. A remarkable instance of the solicitude which the State felt for the welfare of the Sthānikas is given in one of the Śrāvapa Belgola inscriptions dated A.D. 1634. This epigraph refers itself to the reign of the ruler of Mysore, Cāma Rāja Oḍeyar. It informs us that the Sthānadavaru (i.e., Sthānikas) of Śrāvapa Belgola, owing to their troubles had mortgaged the endowments made for the worship of Gummāṇaśhasvāmī of Dēvara Belgola to merchant—householders (*vaṭṭaka gurustariga*), and that the latter, as mortgage holders, had enjoyed the same for a long time. This state of affairs reached the ears of the ruler of Mysore, who held immediately an enquiry; and sending for the merchant—householders spoke to them as follows:—"We will discharge the debt granted by you to the Sthānikas." Thereupon the merchant—householders spoke as follows:—"We have for the spiritual welfare of our parents, made a gift, with pouring of water, of the debt granted by us to the Sthānikas." All having spoken thus, the king caused this grant to be made by the merchant—householders to the Sthānikas. The grant was made in the orthodox manner with

190. *Ep. Rep. S. Circle* for 1907 p. 43.

191. *E. O.*, X. Mb. 116, p. 106.

192. *Ibid.*, V. Bl. 6, p. 43.

the pouring of water in the presence of Gummataṣṭhasvāmī, the god, and the *guru* (Carukṛtī Paṇḍitadeva) being the witnesses. And the ruler ordered thus:—"The Sthanikas shall as long as the moon and sun endure perform the worship of the god and live happily."

But in order to prevent the Sthanikas of Belgola from mortgaging in future the endowments of the temple, the ruler further enacted thus:—"In future any of the Sthanikas of Belgola who mortgages the endowments, or any one who grants as mortgage thereon, shall be an outcaste, and will have no claim to the *śāhāna* or office". And in the event of any one violating this injunction, it was further ordered that: "Should any one, in violation of this either give or receive in mortgage, the kings who happen to rule over this kingdom (shall deal with them properly) and carry on the charity of this god as before."¹⁹³

Another inscription of the same date is identical in its contents but is interesting because it corroborates the evidence of the poet Paṭicabāṇa mentioned in an earlier context. We have seen that, according to Paṭicabāṇa, he was the son of the Sthanika Cennappa of Śrāvāṇa Belgola. Now this poet's son figures in the record under review dated also A.D. 1634. It is related in this inscription that the king of Mysore, Cama Raja Oḷeyar, on hearing that the lands of the temple managers of Belgola had for a long time been mortgaged (*Belgola śthānadavara kṣetravū bahudina aḍau āgiralāgi*), sent for Cennappa, the son of Kempappa of Hoṣavojala, and other mortgage-holders (two of them being named), and said:—"I shall pay off the debt on your mortgage." At this Cennappa and the other merchants and Gaṇḍas (nineteen named, including poet Paṭicabāṇa's son Bomyappa and poet Bommappa), in order that merit might accrue to their parents, gave up to the mortgagee temple managers, with pouring of water, the mortgage bonds (*aḍahina paṭra*) in the presence of the god Gummataṣṭhasvāmī and the priest Carukṛtī Paṇḍitadeva. They wrote this stone inscription recording the release of the mortgage, and stated that whoever claimed the debt that had thus been quitted, would incur the sin of having slaughtered one thousand tawny cows and Brahmans at Kṣāī and Rāmeśvaram.¹⁹⁴

From both the above stone inscriptions it is evident that the ruler not only came to the rescue of the Sthanikas in times of distress, but personally intervened on their behalf in order to save

193. E. C. II. 352, pp. 155-156.

194. E. C. II. 250, p. 106.

the lands of a temple. But it is not to be imagined that the Sthānikas could have their own way in matters of worship and in regard to the question of mortgaging the lands of the gods under their charge. The Government made it sufficiently clear that in case the Sthānikas, as servants of the State, failed to abide by the decision of the ruler, the latter could authorize the conduct of the worship and charity of the god instead, and independent, of the Sthānikas.

Sometime after the flight of the last Vijayanagara ruler Śrī Ranga Rāya, it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1669 that the Yajahankanaḍ Prabhu Immaḍi Kempa Gaṇḍa, granted to Namaśśivaya Śilchamaṇi Dikṣita, with the approval of the Sthānika Lingamayya of the temple of Viṣṇuvara (now Someśvara), remission of certain custom duties and dues to the palace¹⁹⁵. This copper-plate mentions the king Śrī Ranga Rāya as seated on the jewelled throne of Ghanagiri (Penugonda). It is not possible to accept this statement except on the supposition that the Yajahankanaḍ Prabhu still acknowledged the titular sovereignty of the Vijayanagara monarch, who had by this time fled to the court of the Keladi ruler.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the evidence of the above copper plate substantiates the statement we have often made in this treatise that the Sthānikas, as trustees and managers of temples, were high dignitaries under the State.

Before we conclude we may cite the evidence of one more royal order to prove that the Sthānikas were controlled by the State. A *śarnad* dated A.D. 1759 of the reign of the king of Mysore, Kṛṣṇa Rāja Oḍeyar III, is of much interest in this connection. It was addressed to Ciṇṇayya, and it intimated the appointment by the king of Bhagavānu Śastri as the Sthānika in the temple of Naṭṭanagodu in the place of Śankara Dikṣita, and it directed him to see that all privileges pertaining to his office were duly granted to the new man. The Sthānikas were entitled to some wet and dry lands, a house or house site, a portion of the cakes prepared in the temple and some money payment on festive occasions.¹⁹⁷

5. CONCLUSION

From the review of the above stone and copper-plate records and literature ranging over ten centuries (ninth century A. D. till

195. *Ibid.*, IX. Ma. 2, p. 50.

196. Read Salatore, *S. P. Life*, I, p. 142.

197. *M. A. R.* for 1912, p. 59, on the degradation of the Sthānis, read Ep. Rep. S. Circle for 1921, p. 92.

the eighteenth century A. D.), we are able to deduce the following in regard to the importance of the Sthānikas in Indian history :—

First seen in the *Arthashastra* of Kaṭilya, the word Sthānika generally was applied to an official in the civil administration of the State. This official nature of the Sthānika is seen throughout the long course of Indian history. And what is equally noteworthy is that the office of Sthānika was common to the Jainas, the Śrivaishnavas, and the Śaivas. Themselves Brahmans and as orthodox as any section of the priestly class, the Sthānikas never formed any separate caste of their own. They have figured in all walks of life—as managers of temples, trustees of the properties of the deities in them, priests, engravers, *odegars*, and literary men. But they have always been important as rulers of a *sthāna* (i. e., the office in a temple) and as trustees of the properties of the deities in temples. This trust, it may be noted here, was held by the Sthānikas not in their own name but in that of the gods in temples. It is for this reason that, in the numerous inscriptions we have examined, they are called Sthānikas of particular gods, and not merely Sthānikas of temples. Worship in temples was invariably regulated by them. They were also empowered to appoint servants to conduct the daily worship in temples. In no period of Indian history were the Sthānikas ever identified with any one of the menial temple servants who in Karnaṭaka, Tamil, and Telugu lands were always known by separate names, and who never possessed the powers and privileges of the Sthānikas.

As trustees of the temple properties and of the deities in temples, the Sthānikas received hereditary grants of land from rulers, princes, and the people among whom were Brahmans themselves. Sometimes princes worshipped the feet of the Sthānikas before making grants of land to temples. These grants and endowments in the early days of Kaṭilya were inalienable. But in some periods of later history, because of altered conditions, the Sthānikas were sometimes permitted by their donors to part with their endowments, although in the seventeenth century the Hindu State itself forbade such a practice.

In their official capacity as trustees of the properties of the gods in temples, the Sthānikas were called as witnesses to public grants. They were equal in social rank to the Māheśvaras and the Mahājanas, along with whom they received coins and corn for temples. Together with these and other respectable citizens like the representatives of the *nāṭis* and of the farmers (*garuḍagol*), the Sthānikas conferred honours upon worthy persons in the shape of *kaffi-godags* and *dharma-śāana*. In this connection it is

noteworthy that the Sthānikas granted land as reward to Brahmans as well, for meritorious work done, and sometimes even executed deeds in favour of the Brahmans themselves. Such was the importance attached to the office of a Sthānika that in some periods of the history of Karnāṭaka and southern India, as in the Vijayanagara age, the Sthānikas were independent even of the Executive Officials called Parupatyaḡaras placed over temples by the Vijayanagara monarchs.

The Sthānikas of the temples owned by the State were appointed by the rulers themselves. As high officials in the civil administration, the Sthānikas were privileged to petition directly to the monarchs. They could go on a deputation to the rulers, who addressed them directly, and not as in the case of ordinary citizens, through the Secretaries of the Government. When the Sthānikas failed to do their duty as public servants, they were dismissed by the State and replaced by other Sthānikas. The rulers of their own accord came to the rescue of the Sthānikas, who in times of distress had mortgaged their endowments, and released the mortgage deeds made by the temple trustees.¹⁹⁸

B. A. SALETOR

198. In the light of the irrefutable evidence of the above documents, assertions like the following made in the Government *District Gazetteers* may be summarily dismissed as unhistorical. 'The Sthānikas are said to be the descendants of Brahmans by Brahmin widows and outcaste Brahmin women corresponding with Manu's *colaka*. They however now claim to be *Salva* Brahmans forcibly dispossessed of authority by the Madhvas, and state that the name Sthānika is not that of a separate caste, but indicates their profession as managers of temples, with the title of *Deva Sthānika*. This claim is not generally conceded and as a matter of fact the duties in which the Sthānikas are employed are clearly those of temple servants, namely, collecting flowers, sweeping of the interior of temples, looking after the lamps, cleaning the temple vessels, ringing the bells, and the like. They are generally *Salvites* and wear the sacred thread. Their special deities are Venkatarāmanā and Ganap̄ti. (Starruck, *South Canara Manual*, I. p. 154. Cf. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, under Sthānika, Mala, Mali, etc. where equally absurd statements are made.)

I do not know whether the earlier part of the above statements, which forms a libel on a body of officials that has had a brilliant record of public service behind it, has been rectified in the long-promised revised edition of the *South Canara Gazetteer* to which I have myself contributed a chapter on the political history of South Kanara. It is highly desirable that Government, when compiling historical or

quest-historical accounts of communities, should entrust the work to capable and unbiased scholars and not to officials who, whatever their ability as Government servants, are not qualified to pass judgment on the antiquity and importance of communities.

Starruck seems to imply that the claim put forward by the Sthānikas over temples is imaginary, and that they were not dispossessed of their rights by the Vaiṣṇavites. Starruck's work refers itself to the South Kanara district; and it is best to examine his statement in the light of the religious history of that district.

The truth seems to be that the Sthānikas, at least as far as South Kanara is concerned, were, indeed, forcibly dispossessed of their rights and even of their temples by their religious rivals, who were mostly the followers of the great Madhva. From my personal investigations in Taluqa conducted in the Uḍipi taluqa between the years 1922 and 1925, I am able to give the following details which indicate the priority of the claims of the Sthānikas over those of the Vaiṣṇavites, in the matter of the control over temples. That a change in the possession of temples did not take place peacefully but was characterized by force is evident when we notice one singular point concerning the images in temples. Most of the images of the temples which once belonged to the Sthānikas are now either mutilated or thrown near the precincts of temples which have passed into the custody of the Vaiṣṇavites. (This could never have been the work of Muhammadans, since the South Kanara district never suffered from the depredations of the followers of Islam, not even during the reign of Tipu Sultan.) A few examples may suffice to illustrate this point. In Malpe, which has the other name of Kroṣṭūrma, the original image of Mallikārjuna has been thrown into the tank near the temple, and the image of Śaṅkaraśrīyuga now is seen in the same temple. The famous Anantēśvara temple of Uḍipi proper was another stronghold of the Sthānikas. I have elsewhere shown that there is much proof to maintain that the Anantēśvara temple was originally a Śaivite stronghold (*Ancient Karnataka*, Volume I. p. 449, n. 2.) The Anantēśvara temple, we may note by the way, bears strong resemblance to the famous Somalinga temple at Nittūru, also in the Uḍipi taluqa. And the Nittūru Somalinga temple itself is another example of forcible dispossession. For the Somalingēśvara image of the Nittūru has been thrown out, and an image of Venkateswara installed in its place. In Udayavara, the ancient capital of the Ālupas the image of Mahādeva was thrown out in order to give room to the image of Gaṇapati. And this latter god has replaced Īśvara also at Uppūru in the same Uḍipi taluqa. I here abstain from citing the example of at least twenty moṭhas in the neighbourhood of the town of Uḍipi, which were originally owned by the Sthānikas but which have now passed into the hands of the Vaiṣṇavites. In addition to the above examples of temples which had originally belonged to the Sthānikas, we may give a few more

centres of tantra which have now become the property of the Vaiṣṇavites. These are the Trilokēśvara and Śarabheśvara temples at Mangalore, the Someśvara temple at Ullāṣa, the famous Subrahmanya temple at Subrahmanya, and the temple at Kabbīnāra, at Hebri.

The enmity between the Sthānikas and the Mādhyas seems to have come to a head, according to tradition that is available at Uḍipi, in the time of the famous guru Vādirāja (A.D. 1614). It centred round the question of building the famous Kṛṣṇa mās̥ha and the tank near it. The land on which the Kṛṣṇa mās̥ha stands and on which the tank was constructed, belonged to the Sthānikas. Indeed, the Sthānikas claim that the land on which the eight mās̥has of Uḍipi were built, formed the property of the Sthānikas whose most powerful spokesmen then were the Nijjōru people. It is interesting to note in this connection that in this quarrel between the Mādhyas led by the redoubtable Vādirāja on the one hand, and the Nijjōru people on the other, the Pāṣṇamas (or the Harijans, as we now would call them) took the side of the Nijjōru people against the orthodox sections. And when the Vaiṣṇavites who had installed the Venkatarāmaṅga image in the place of Soma-lingēśvara at Nijjōru, jeered at the latter deity thus in Tuḷu—*Nijjōru Somalinga bēṇa Tanbarā tārjōṇa Tanbarā*, the Pāṣṇamas retorted with an equally poignant line in Tuḷu, thus—*Cūḷapādī Ballāḷera bēṇa kōṇṇara Nijjōṇbāra Ballāḷera dēḷambā guḷyera*, obviously against the Cūḷapādī and the Nijjōṇbāra Ballāḷa who had espoused the cause of the Mādhyas guru. The success of Vaiṣṇavites, who were numerically superior, over the Nijjōru people was complete. These latter had now really no chance against the former, for these were the days of the supremacy of the Vaiṣṇavites all over southern India and Karnaṭaka. Indeed, the Emperors of Vijayanagara themselves were now Vaiṣṇavites by persuasion. And there was no one who could espouse the cause of the Nijjōru people. If this tradition of the great quarrel between the Nijjōru people and the Mādhyas, which is current in Tuḷu, is substantiated by other evidence, the downfall of the Sthānikas in Tuḷu could be dated to the first quarter of the seventeenth century A.D., when Vādirāja's powerful influence undoubtedly reigned supreme in Tuḷu.

That the Vaiṣṇavites in Tuḷu now own temples which were the property of the Sthānikas there can be no doubt. Nor should we be surprised at it: some of the temples which were for a long time under the Śaivites, seem to have been once Buddhist places of worship, as I have shown elsewhere (*Ancient Karnataka* I, pp. 370, n. 1, 384.) I have also shown in another work of mine that many of the temples which are in the possession of the Hindus were once Jaina holy places. (Read my *Medieval Jainism*, Cha. II, III, and V.)—R. A. S.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAUTHAI IN MARATHA HISTORY

The significance of the term Cauthai or Cauth, as it has been called by several writers on Indian History, has not been properly explained. Most of these authors appear to have examined only one side of this question. Elphinstone, in his 'Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa' explained it to be a government demand in the following words: "The first pretension of Shivaji was to levy from the Rayats as *Sar Deahmukhi*, ten rupees for every hundred levied by the Government. This was afterwards followed by a demand of the fourth of the collections, which at length was yielded by the Moghuls. The fourth thus acquired is called by the Marathas the *Chowth*: it was immediately divided by the Prince with his ministers and Sardars"¹. This explanation has been followed by several subsequent historians. It has been remarked that "the first one very useful instrument of a political character which Shivaji wisely forged and himself brought into practice, was his system of levying impositions on an enemy country known as *Chowthai* and *Sardeshmukhi*, the former being of the nature of a tribute exacted from hostile or conquered territories and the latter a kind of revenue ownership."² This explanation of Cauthai as a source of revenue, as will be shown presently, is an anachronism. Moreover, this means of increasing the finances of the Maratha State has also been claimed to have been "nothing but a tribute exacted from the weak by the strong."³ a contribution exacted by a military leader.⁴... a military contribution levied by a power without being in formal occupation of the country and without observing the formalities specified by modern International Law."⁵ The Maratha writer Ranade giving his own interpretation of Cauth, observed: "The demand for Chowth was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression, on payment of fixed sums for the support of the troops maintained for such service."⁶

1. Elphinstone, *Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa*, pp. 284-85

2. Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, (1926 ed.) p. 76.

3. Surendransib Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 97.

4. *Ibid*, p. 100.

5. *Ibid*, p. 86.

6. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, I, p. 224.

These interpretations deserve to be examined in the light of Maratha history.

THE MILITARY ASPECT

It must be confessed at the outset that the *cauthai* of the Marathas was no invention of Shivaji and could therefore never be the "pretension" which Elphinstone construed it to be, simply because the founder of the Maratha Empire only continued this tradition as it was surviving in Rannagar. In fact several years prior to the advent of Shivaji, a certain *Raja* Cauthia was Rannagar (modern Dharampur) was exacting this tax from the Portuguese subjects of Damann, and when Shivaji conquered this territory he demanded it as a right. Owing to the Portuguese influence in that region, it is clear that Shivaji must have written to the Portuguese Viceroy, Pedro d'Almeida Conde de Assumar, who replied thus to him on 10th January 1678 A. D. regarding the recovery of this *cauthai*: "Your Highness asks me to write to the captains of the fortresses of Basseln and Damann that they should pay to Your Highness the *chauth* that has been always paid to the *Chauthia*, as Your Highness is now in possession of his territories. I order the said to inform me (about it), for having arrived here only a few days ago, I have till now got little information on this subject and with their reply I shall advise Your Highness to send a person with powers to make a settlement with the people I nominate, and after an examination of the terms of the contract by which the said *chauth* was settled and the conditions with which it was conceded, Your Highness may be certain that when it is proved that Your Highness is the Absolute master of the said territories, there will remain no doubt about paying of Your Highness what has been paid to the said *Chauthia*."¹ This letter therefore reveals that (a) Shivaji claimed *Cauthai* from territories which he had conquered, (b) that *Cauthai* was paid to the *Raja* Cauthia long before Shivaji commenced to impose this tax, (c) and that this impost was levied on certain conditions, which, unfortunately cannot now be ascertained. But it must be noted that the Viceroy's ignorance about the levy of this *cauthai* is certainly incredible because the payment of this tribute "formed the subject-matter of so many treaties from 1579 to 1719; nor could the Portuguese Government have been ignorant of this system in 1678 since one of the treaties had been renewed in 1670."² The truth of this statement can be realised on

1. *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* (Gos Archives) I, fol. 2; Sen, *Historical Records of Gos* pp. 14-15, Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 29. (Italics mine).

2. Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, pp. 26-37. Cf. Biker, *Treatados da India e concertos de Pazem*, II, pp. 61-63, Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

examining the reply of one of the commissioners of the Portuguese in India to Shivaji in these words: "From that information (received from the captains of the fortresses of Bassein and Damann) it is clear that the said chauth had its origin in the covenant that the village-managers (*varadores das aldeas*) of the district of Damann made of their own initiative with the King Chauthia, without informing the Viceroy and Governors, in order to avoid the loss and robbery that his subjects used to commit in those villages."¹ It goes without saying that had this been really the case, there would not have been any need for the Portuguese government to ratify the treaties made with Rāja of Ramnagar from the year A. D. 1579 nor to accede to the demands of *cauthāi* from this prince, as is evident from the royal *alvará* of the king of Portugal in A. D. 1604. These *alvará* (or letters) were issued on learning that the captains of Damann paid *cauthāi* to the ruler of Ramnagar, in the shape of "overpriced old horses and other similar things" and the royal order therefore ran thus: "The king forbids this unfair practice on pain of severe penalties and orders all persons concerned to pay *cauth* in cash."² The sovereign of Portugal would never have ordered this if the grant of this *cauthāi* was not countenanced by his government.

The order of the Portuguese monarch to his Indian subjects reveals how this *cauthāi* was paid by the Portuguese government to the ruler of Ramnagar. The nature of this cash payment should not be lost sight of, for even in later times during the Peshwas the rulers of Mahārāṣṭra invariably insisted on the recovery of cash whenever the demand for the *cauthāi* was made. It may be observed here that Sabhasad records the cash recovery of this dues during Shivaji amounted to "one krone of *Asa* (baga)"³. This cash Shivaji demanded as a matter of right from those areas over which he spread the might of his arms as is evident from a letter written by the Factors of Surat to those of Bombay on the 25th of June 1672. "The same day also were brought letters from Savage to the Governor and Mirsa Mosum demanding for the third time (which he wrote should be the last) the County or $\frac{1}{2}$ part of the king's revenues under this Government, declaring that as their king had forced him to keep an army, for defence of his people and country so that army must be payed and if they sent him not the money speedily he bid them make ready a large house for him, for he would come, and sit down here, and receive the rents and

1. *Rois Vieinhoe*, op. cit. I, fol. 12, Sen, *Historical Records of Goa*, pp. 17-18.

2. Biker, op. cit. II, p. 82; Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 34.

3. Sabhasad, *Sahasastopai*, p. 102 (Mankar)

customs; for there was none to stop his passage."² These words show the exact reasons why Śivaji insisted on recovering this *cauthai*, the most important among them being the recovery of this *impost* for the maintenance and payment of his forces, but for whom he would never have been able to enforce such claims.

Further details of this claim can also be ascertained. Kaśi Khan relates how Husain Ali, through the mediation of a Marāṭha Brahman, Śankerji Malhar, came to an amicable settlement with Balaji Viśvanath and Jannaji regarding the payment of *cauthai*. The agreement was that the officers of *Rāja Sahu* were to be paid a fourth of what *aminas*, *kroris* and *Shikhadars* collected as land revenue, and as *asir* from the Government lands and from *jāgirdars*. It was also settled that in addition to the fourth share from the receipts of the *jāgirdars*, they were to receive from the raiyats ten per cent, as *Sardeshmukhi*. Altogether they were to receive thirty five per cent upon the total collections (and also) upon the *abwabs* called *faṣṭadāri*, *shikhadāri* *ziyafat* and other charges, as shown in the gross account of the collections. According to this account they were to receive nearly half the total revenue recorded in the Government rent-roll, and (the collections) thus shared by the domineering collectors of *Raja Sahu*.³ This *cauthai*, apart from this singular example of a settlement between a Muhammadan Governor and the deputies of the Marāṭha ruler *Sahu*, was evidently based on the realisation of the "total rent" to use an expression of the Muslim historian Kaśi Khan, apparently alluding to the gross realisations from a province or a district threatened by the Marāṭhas. It is quite possible, as Dr. Sen suggests that the Marāṭha *Kamavisdars* rarely, especially in the early days of Śivaji, recovered the one-fourth which their sovereign demanded. This can be proved by the evidence of contemporary records. According to a letter from *Rājapur*, dated the 6th of February some of the forces of Śivaji had "been at Callapore (*Kolhapur*) which redeemed itself from their fury by a present-giving of 1500 pagodas, thence they went to a place called *Songam* which gave them 500 pagodas." As has been well remarked the "total revenue of *Kolhapur* must have largely exceeded 8000 pagodas."⁴ This has been well confirmed by Kaśi Khan, who says that the villagers,

1. *Factory Records*, Surat, Vol. 87, fol. 47; Sen, *Military System of the Marāṭhas*, p. 39.
2. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VII, p. 487.
3. *Factory Records*, Surat, Vol. 88, fols. 16-20; Sen, *Military System of the Marāṭhas*, p. 40.

represented by the mukhadams, zamindars, or governors went to the extent of even showing false accounts so as to reduce their payment of the one-fourths share. Referring them, he observes: "Taking back with them a messenger (*harkāra*) and a horseman, to protect the village and the cultivation, instead of showing their total rent to be one or two thousand (rupees), they made it out to be four or five hundred. But whatever sum was settled, they promised payment, and gave sureties, called *ol* (*olā-vols*?) in the language of India. They thus saved themselves from violence and plunder."¹

It is to save the villages and the provinces from these deeds of violence that the terrified victims of Marāṭhā might, generally and sometimes readily agreed, to pay this *cauthāi* to the Marāṭhās. Kāfi Khan narrates how during the times of Śābu, the Marāṭhās "with large armies" invaded the "Subās of the Dakhin, and Ahmedabad and Malwa, for the purpose of collecting *chauth* and they plundered and ravaged wherever they went. To cities and large towns they sent messengers and letters demanding payment of the *chauth* from the Governor or *samindar*. Or the *mukhadams* and *samindars* of the towns and villages hastened out to meet the Marāṭhā army, undertaking to pay the *chauth*, and begged for protection."² If this protection was not given then the Marāṭhās soon devastated the surrounding country. As the same historian continues in some places, e.g. Berar and Khandesh the Marāṭhās took "one-share" leaving one-third to the *raiyat* and one-third to the *jagirdars* and consequently villages formerly rendered desolate were restored to cultivation.³ When such were the conditions of the payment of *cauthāi*, it is but natural to inquire why such exactions were at all tolerated by the suffering people. The primary cause, as shown above, was the plea for protection and probably, according to Stavornius, the *cauthāi* was paid in order to avoid worse consequences. "The reason" he observes "is plain; it is less expensive and a lighter tax upon trade, to agree to some certain payment, than to engage in the unknown expense of armies, to free themselves from so irregular a foe."⁴ Once these dues were paid the affected areas were safe, at least temporarily, but these payments appear to have told heavily on the unfortunate peasantry. As Kāfi Khan remarks: "This arrangement by which they were to collect all taxes, fell very hard upon the *raiyats*,

1. Elliot and Dowson, *op.cit.* pp. 464-65.

2. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VII, pp. 464-65.

3. *Ibid.* p. 468.

4. John Splinter Stavornius, *Voyages to the East Indies*, III, pp. 140-44.

and the Government officers and *Jāgirdars*; for in every district there were two collectors—one called the *kamāvaishdār*, and the other *gumashta* of the *sardeshmukhi*. On the roll of the collection of the signature of the sarristadar (*serestadar*?) of the sardeshmukhi was first placed, and what was required by the rules on that account was to be taken separately."¹ Such payments must have really impoverished the peasantry and dried up the sources of land revenue, which has always formed the main avenue of the State Exchequer in Hindu times.

This *cauthai* which originated in the sixteenth century slowly underwent a change, from a political point of view, during the Marāṭhas. Śivaji demanded it as a matter of right, while his descendant Sahu begged it from the Moghul Emperor Bahadurshah. As Dr. Surendranath Sen well puts it: "Sahu received as a pension what Śivaji demanded as a tribute and what Śivaji had offered as a favour Sahu undertook as an obligation."² So a Maratha force under Balaji Vignanath went to Delhi and the grant of the *cauthai* and *sardeshmukhi* by the Viceroy Nizam al-nulk was confirmed by the puppet Emperor. As an obedient and humble servant of the Moghul Empire, Sahu undertook to serve the Deccan Viceroy with 1,500 men, promised to restore certain devastated villages to their prosperity within three years and devoted himself to the maintenance of peace and order in the southern Imperial provinces. If a theft took place in these dominions, Sahu had to detect the thief and punish him; if he was unable to make good the stolen goods, he was obliged to compensate from his own revenues.³

But this mentality never became the rule among the successors of Sahu for the Peshwa recovered this *cauthai* as though it was any other source of revenue, for unlike Śivaji, it was unnecessary for them to maintain armies through the recovery of this tax and unlike Sahu, they were not at all afraid of the Moghul Emperor in order to beg it as a favour from him. Therefore it appears to have become one of their numerous sources of public income, recovered year after year. In A. D. 1767 Raja Janaji, for instance, expressed the greatest indifference about his demands for the arrears of the *cauthai* and left everything to his *vakil* (agent) and professed "the utmost satisfaction at the proposal that the *cauthai* should commence with the present year."⁴ Evidently during the Peshwa's each province

1. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., VII, p. 467.

2. Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 47.

3. Cf. Mawjee and Paramis, *Treaties, Agreements, and Records*, pp. 1-4. Sen, *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

4. *The Persian Calendar*, II, (No. 381.) p. 108.

within the Marāṭha empire had to surrender to the central government at Poona a certain of its total revenue as *cauthāi*. This can be found out from the treaty between the unfortunate Bāji Rao II and the English, whose protection he sought after his disgraceful flight from Poona in A. D. 1802. This treaty reveals how this Marāṭha ruler ceded to his protectors the "Waunadā Choute" amounting to Rs. 7,000 the "Durumpoory Choute" of Rs. 9,000 and the "Surat Choute" yielding Rs. 4,21,000 apparently every year.¹

It may here be observed that this *cauthāi*, which the Marāṭhas recovered from the times of Śivaji to the days of Bāji Rao II, was paid by them in A. D. 1755 to their greatest enemies the Sids of Janjira. This source of revenue naturally appealed to others like "Rāja Champat" and the Sikhs, both of whom made the best of this example set by their immediate political predecessors, the Marāṭhas, throughout the length and breadth of Hindostan.²

The *cauthāi* consequently, from a military point of view, may be defined in a few words. It was certainly not a "pretension" but a right which Śivaji copied from the rulers of Rām-nagar and imposed it on territories which he either conquered or terrorised into submission. This source of revenue which was recovered at the mercy of the sword during the days of Śivaji as a tribute, degenerated in the times of Sahu into an imperial pension. But when the Peshwas followed in their footsteps, this avenue of state income became a tax which was recovered from various provinces in specified proportions. In the early days of Marāṭha rule, the *cauthāi* was generally recovered from territories which were almost coerced into actual surrender, although, in the case of raids on wealthy cities like Surat, it became the result of a veritable loot. Nevertheless it can hardly be maintained with justice that this imposition was inflicted on powers which bowed before the might of the Marāṭhas with their consent, for though the Marāṭhas generally refrained from molesting those who agreed to pay readily this demand, the protection which they assured to these did not necessarily mean a protection from foreign aggression, for instances can be cited of some rulers who paid this due and were still left to their own resources when they needed most the assistance of the Marāṭhas.

THE CIVIL ASPECT

It may now be stated that the *cauthāi* was not exacted by the militant Marāṭhas only during victorious campaigns from ter-

1. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, (1909 ed.) VI, p. 59.

2. Pogue, *History of the Bundelas*, p. 23, *Delhi Fatah Marhiyadshin Edikarunin*, I, p. 181, Sen, op. cit. p. 49.

various potentates and principalities, but it was also imposed as an ordinary tax especially during the Peshwas whenever the interference of the State was called into requisition by the subjects. This aspect of *cauthai* can never be branded as "a system of organised plunder,"¹ although this imposition might have affected adversely poor people to whom, however, the Peshwas were not always inconsiderate.

One of such occasions of calling in states' aid was for the settlement of the liquidation of private debts through government agency. Some examples can be cited to prove this contention. In the year A.D. 1750-51 it was represented to the Poona government that Raghaji Deshmukh, Heba Caudhari, Candu Caudari, the Deshmukh of Paragga Cika[waha], and Govind Gangarda, owed several debts to one Sambhudas Raghunath Deshpande. The government issued orders to Mahipatras Lale to warn these men, arrange to have the amounts paid back with interest and to remit one fourths of each amount recovered to the government.² It may here be noted that this one-fourth of the share payable to the government is clearly called *Cauthai*. The same procedure was adopted by the Peshwas when a partnership account between two individuals, who evidently approached the central administration to effect a settlement. In the same year in which the case cited above occurred, Rameandra Malhar of Gangthadi was informed of a dispute between Harbaji Thakur of Matburpura, Nasik, and Keshav Narsing Gujar of Sanganner. The case must have been reported to the Poona headquarters, or else Rameandra Malhar would not have been ordered to secure the account books from the Gujar and, after examining the accounts, recover the amount that might be found due to Harbaji. If this was so, one fourths of the amounts recovered was to be remitted to government and the balance handed over to Harbaji.³ From this case it is evident that the interference of the State in Maratha times in private monetary matters was no perfunctory affair, for the government appears to have made an attempt to scrutinise accounts through an official, whose discretion, of course, the administration took for granted and whose decision was evidently binding and decisive on the parties concerned.

1. cf. Ghosal, *Hindu Revenue System*.

2. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, II, (25) pp. 15-17: "Tyā prakāśitā carkātrī cauthāi ghēvān, husār pāṭhānā mhan'ān pātra".

3. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, II, (26) pp. 15-17: "Tyājpaṭhī cauthāi carkātrī ghēvān husār pāṭhānā".

When cases of extortions were reported to the Peśwa, his government generally attempted to redress the aggrieved party. In A.D. 1750-51 a Muhammadan extorted from Mahipatāo Kawaje a sum of Rs. 600 and the Peśwa ordered this amount to be recovered, while one-fourths of this had to be paid to the State treasury.¹ This principle, of recovering a fee for State assistance in bringing to an amicable settlement personal feuds, was also extended to the sphere of customs revenue even in cases when government officials were not perhaps quite justified in recovering customs revenue. A case, illustrating this point, happened in A. D. 1751-52 when a *Vanjāri* while conveying 2,100 bullocks from Surat to Nandurbār, obstructed at Apsa by the Deāmukh of that place, was compelled by him to pay Rs. 5,800 and to hand over five hundred bullocks. As the result of an appeal to the central authority at Poona, the *Vanjāri* was reimbursed the sums extorted from him, while the Government received one-fourths even of this recovery.² The principle underlying this decision was probably that, whenever the assistance of the Government was called for, even in cases where its own servants were apparently in the wrong, that activity of the State had to be paid for, so that no individual might profit from administrative interference in private matters.

Apart from such unconscious or conscious exactions of State officials which were detected and adequately dealt with, though of course it is not clear whether those officers responsible therefore were properly punished, nevertheless it is known that fraudulent extortions were not tolerated by the Marāṭha State. Lala Nāyak *Vanjāra* reported in A. D. 1753-54 that, while returning from *paragana* Olpaḍ in Gujrat, with his pack of loaded bullocks, Dangara Wāsāva and Bablya Wāsāva Bhūmi, two old settlers of that place, fraudulently extorted from himself Rs. 4000 in cash and a pledge for Rs. 1,500 (*cār hasār vā havālā rupaye dīd hasār*) and he therefore prayed that Government might graciously please to recover these amounts from those culprits, so that they may be restored to him, after deducting a fourth of the proceeds for the State. (*paikīn cauthāī sarkārānē phēvān bāki āvās majalā dēvāva māhātūn*). The *Kāmavisadār* of Olpaḍ was accordingly directed to recover from this Bhūmi the amount, which after due inquiry might be found to have been extorted by him and by Dangara. He was further directed to deduct the usual *cauthāī* and after crediting it to the government accounts, he had to return

1. *Ibid.*, II, (121) p. 79.

2. *Ibid.*, II, (122) p. 80.

the balance to *Vanjāra*, the person to whom it was due. For this purpose a few soldiers in government employ were deputed to assist the *Kamāvisdār* of *Pargana* Nandurbār, *Moghaldāi Anāl* Janārdhan Anant Dimat Nārō Ballal, while two other officers, Mahipatrao and Appāji Gaṇeś were informed about this by letter.¹

This case may be compared, for instance, with that of Harbaji Thakur of Mathurpura vs Keśav Narsing of Sanganner, already cited above. In that dispute a government official was, on behalf of the State, ordered to audit the account books of Keśav Narsing Gujar, against whom probably the complaint was lodged and who was also suspected by the government, or else it cannot be understood why only his accounts should have been examined. In the lawsuit of Lala Nayak, the government, evidently apprehending greater opposition than in the former case, ordered some soldiers to assist the officer in bringing about a settlement of this quarrel. So it can be seen how the Marāṭha State sought to effect the settlement of individual disputes specially through officials of the locality, as they could perhaps understand the details of the dispute in hand better and they had not only to audit the account-books whenever necessary, but they were also granted military assistance, when there was an apprehension of a possible opposition.

There is evidence to prove that the *cauthāi*, which was recovered in all such instances of administrative interference, was generally enforced strictly especially in the matters of monetary transactions and not always in those of items recoverable in kind. In A. D. 1752-53 represented that, on his way from Buranpur via Aurangabad, he halted at Damrule in *Pargana* Adawad, and while he was there the villagers of that place forcibly wrested from forty horses. (*lufān ghētalān āhāt*). He therefore prayed that the *Peśwa* may graciously be pleased to order their restoration. Mahipat Rao Kawade was instructed, being the officer in charge of the place, to inquire into the matter and out of the horses which might have been forcibly taken away, he was ordered to select five excellent animals of good stature for the Government, while the rest were to be returned to their rightful owner.² Here it is interesting to note that even in such disputes the State benefitted though not necessarily by a recovery one-fourths of the amount realised.

The *cauthāi* was, however, recovered whenever the discovery of treasure troves were brought to the notice of Government. In

1. *Satara Rājās' and Peshwās' Diaries*, II, (88), p. 56.

2. *Satara Rājās' and Peshwās' Diaries*, II, (87), p. 58.

A. D. 1752-53 a treasure-trove, containing coins worth Rs. 464, found in the wall of a house, was appropriated by Damodar Mahadev, the *Kamāvisāḍār* of the *garaparu* Petlad, from a certain Ajab Sing Gurav. The owner naturally complained to the Peśwa who commanded that one-fourths of this treasure-trove should be credited to the Government accounts while the remainder should be handed to the owner.¹ This, it may now be observed, is the third example of a government servant who, though apparently in the wrong, was still not at all punished by the State. The only possible explanation that suggests itself is, that, whatever was appropriated by these officers must have been at once brought to the credit of the State, or else they would not in all probability have been let off without any punishment whatever.

The levy of this one-fourths share due the State was at times enforced in cases where there seems to have been little justification. An officer of the Artillery Department, Vasudev Śivaji was informed that he had appropriated for the use of the Government Artillery 16 Babul trees purchased by Hariji Sitaṇṇa, *Śiladār* at Mouss Sandoze in Tarf Pabul. He was therefore ordered to return the trees to Hariji, taking one-fourths of these trees for the State, after inquiring whether the Babuls were really purchased by Hariji, who must have lodged the complaint. It is interesting to note that even in the case of government servants who, during the Peśwa regime enjoyed certain privileges, the *cauthāi* was invariably recovered as though they were two ordinary persons. If the Marāṭha administrators had exempted government officials from the payment of this due, the State Exchequer would only have suffered an avoidable loss of revenue.

This system of recovering *cauthāi* was also applied to the retrieval of stolen property through State assistance. An exception was made to this case in the year A. D. 1754-55. A priest named *Vadamārti Rājāśrī* Dādabhai *Dharmādāśikārī* Naikar, reported that Rs. 1000 were stolen from his house and begged the Government to restore the sum to him. The officer concerned informed the Poona administration that the amount stolen was recovered, the *cauthāi* due out of it was being credited to the State treasury and the balance would be returned to the priest. Strangely enough the officer was instructed that, as the person concerned was a Brahman, he was exempted from the payment of the *cauthāi*.

1. Ibid., (133), pp. 80-81. "तुमनेकोठेचालीसह्य अंताई वीस अंताई धारुंगत
होत रुपय ४६४ अंतेचालीसह्य निघाली. सदारी रुपय १०००त घाली
होती हीत तुमचारी बाजोस मांजोन बाजोस नव अंते...तुमचौ कांथीस
सकंदरत घेवन हीत रुपय अंतेसह्य मांजोस दाय मांजोन पात्रा."

and that the whole amount should be refunded to him.¹ This unfair exemption of Brahmans, though it had the sanction of Hindu Lawgivers, must have bred not only a hatred of classes and of castes, but it evidently caused a real loss of revenue to the government, especially when wealthy priests like Dādhat were affected by it.

The *cauthai* was also recovered from fines inflicted as penalties by the State. One Vepdās committed a crime and absconded, but his neighbour Bhagwān Kunbl of Ahmedabad was arrested and fined Rs. 1000.² Subsequently Vepdās turned up and the mother of Bhagwān Kunbl, owing to the non-payment of this fine by her son and the troubles arising therefrom, committed suicide. But the Government directed Sripat Rao Bapoji in A. D. 1755-56 to arrest Vepdās and recover from him the amount of Rs. 1000 and the customary fine of Rs. 2,700 for committing the murder. A fourth of this total amount was to be taken as the share of Government dues and remitted to the *Huzūr*, while the balance had to be given to Bhagwān.³

Sometime this levy of *cauthai* was made a matter of adjustment in financial transactions. Bahirao Anant *Faḍnis*, attached to the cavalry under Mānsing Khalāṣe, purchased a building at Kalyān. Rāmaji Mahādōv, the administrative officer in charge, was asked to see that the duty on the purchase of this house, calculated at the usual rate of one-fourth, should be adjusted in the accounts as paid to *Faḍnis* as part of his salary. (*cauthai tagāda nā karāṇē*)⁴ From this evidence it can be inferred that the Marāṭha State recovered a charge on purchases and sales of buildings, that such a duty was calculated at the rate of one-fourth on the purchase price, and that salaries of government servants could be paid also by adjustment.

In all the examples cited above it may be noticed that the *cauthai* recovered was levied as a non-recurring charge, but there

1. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, II, (37), p. 38. *cauthi rupayā sūnat ghōvān aḍā eṭhē rupayānē aṭav dēt hōta mahant bhājīn hūr vichē kōle...cauthai māl kēli aṭā.*

2. Note: a similar case of punishment by the State can be noticed in the imprisonment meted out to Abduḷla Wailād Sheikh Nethu when the *Bedars*, for whom he stood security, absconded. *Ibid.*, VIII, (934) p. 118.

3. *Ibid.*, II, (74) pp. 50-51.: *tyāpaikin cauthai sarkārē ghōvān hūr pāyān dēp. Bāki tīn takīmā naphar majkurta dēp.*

4. *Ibid.*, VII, (477), p. 88.: *tyācē aṭavē pramāṇē śkārboyī tō yācō nāvān baddhal mōshirē khacē līhīq.*

are reasons to think that in certain cases it became an annual source of revenue. An instance to elucidate this principle is furnished in the decision granted in favour of a Parsi Nak Sadat Khān, in the year A. D. 1753. This gentleman represented to Nāro Kriṣṇa, the *Kamāviśār* of *Kasba* Surat, that certain villages in *Sarkār* Surat, though held in *jāghīr* by himself, the *Desāi* of the *Parganā* did not pay him their revenues. He therefore prayed that one-fourths of such income might be annually deducted by the government and that orders might be issued to grant the balance to him. The *Kamāviśār* was accordingly directed to make the necessary inquiries regarding these villages, and if the revenues claimed by the Parsi did not belong to the Government, he was commanded to assist the complainant, *as far as possible*, in recovering the amount due. If his claim was established, one fourths of the revenue from these villages was to be annually recovered and credited to the State, while the balance was to be continued to him.¹

These officers of the government, though given in the cases cited above considerable discretion, were not permitted to be the final arbiters in questions of administration. The unanimous verdict of a *pancāyat* had evidently to be respected by state servants. This can be seen from the transactions of Banaḥi Śindaji who owed a debt of Rs. 19,000 to Gopal Nayak Khisti of Akolner in the year A. D. 1766. Therefore Gopal Nayak obtained from the *Peśwa* an order to Trimbak Rao Lakṣmaḥ, the *Kamāviśār* of Newase and other *Mahāls* regarding this matter. Consequently Trimbak Rao appointed a *pancāyat* who decided, apparently after due consideration of the case, that the debt was justly due to Gopal Nayak. Banaḥi then absconded to Tisgaon and the *Kamāviśār* refused to enforce the decision of the *Pancāyat*. Gopal Nayak again brought this impasse to the notice of the central government, who ordered the *Kamāviśār* to recover the debt and credit a fourth of it to the general revenues.²

Such officials were also not allowed to resort to extortions which, if discovered, were recovered and refunded to those who were compelled to such victimisation. In the year A. D. 1783-84

1. *Batara Rajas' and Peśwas' Diaries*, II, (189) pp. 118-19.: Tyā parganā majkūre dēsi sadrahu gūhvoī amal masarnībhās det nāhīnā... Yājkaritā sadrahu gūhvoī ākar paikm cauthāī sarkārūt darsāī ghērūn amal cālavayāca uprāla kōī pāhijā...sāhitya hōyīl tītakī... (Italics mine).
2. *Ibid.*, VII, (553) p. 167.: Apī cauthāī sarkārōī ghērūn sarkārūt pōvatī kārātā mahān cāpāī

Appaji Lakṣmaṇ. Pendharkar complained of such an extortion against Balaji Viṭṭal Phaḍke during his tenure of office of the *Māmlat* of Manor and of *Paḍḍe* of Tarf Agasi, submitting a memorandum of the sums so extorted. An inquiry consequently made at the *Huṣṣār* showed that the complaint was true. The amounts obtained from several persons were ordered to be refunded to them. In one instance it was discovered that Balaji, as admitted by him, confiscated without any reason, property worth Rs. 1108-7-0, belonging to Nāro Rām Phaḍke. A fourth part of this sum was ordered to be credited to Government, while the rest had to be refunded to the owner. It is possible that in some cases where the government servants were in the wrong the *cauthāi* was sometimes not recovered, while in those instances where he admitted his mistake, the dues of the State were not foregone.¹

All these cases show clearly that the term *cauthāi* cannot be interpreted to mean only a military levy, but it must be remembered that it was also a well-known civil charge recovered from several sources of State interference.



R. N. SALTORÉ

1. *Salara Bajas' and Peshvas' Diaries*, VIII, (1005) pp. 168-67.

THREE DECCANI PAINTINGS ON CANVAS FROM
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR AKBAR HYDARI
COLLECTION IN THE PRINCE OF WALES
MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA.

Painting on cloth is a rarity in the wide range of Mughal paintings. Except the canvas paintings illustrating episodes from the *Dastān-i-Amir Hamzah* executed under the supervision of Mir, Sayyid Ali, a part of which rests in American, English and Continental Museums, a bird painting in the Berlin Museum,¹ a canvas painting depicting Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān in the British Museum, the portrait of a man with a hawk perched on his hand, and Rāmkalī Ragini in the collection of the Bhārat Kālā Bhavan, there are no other canvas paintings of the Mughal School which had as yet come to my notice.

This was a pleasant surprise for me when three canvas paintings belonging to Sir Akbar Hydari came within my notice in the Museum. I was at once impressed of their documentary value in the sphere of the history of Mughal painting in general, and the Deccani School in particular.

METHOD OF PAINTING.

The paintings are executed on rough pieces of cloth, which, after being burnished smooth by a piece of agate, must have been stretched on a frame. Thin coatings of zinc white (*safedā*) were applied to the surface to cover roughness, as is evinced by the parts where the colours have flaked off. First sketching was either done on the canvas or as is more probable, the drawing was done on different pieces of paper or goldbeater's skin (*chavāb*) and then transferred to the canvas piece by piece. This process seems to have been adopted as large pieces of paper were not procurable. After the drawing transferred on the canvas was corrected the colours were filled in, and in the end the final outlining was done either in black or deep septa.

The colours used in Qutb Shāh's Procession are yellow (*pirī*), black (*kāfī*), vermilion (*sindūra*), blue (indigo), white (zinc white), gold (*sonā*), orange (*nārānjī*), and brown. In the picture entitled Chānd Bibi and Ādil Shāh, green (verdigris), vermilion, yellow, gold, brown, white, blue and orange colours are used. In the picture entitled Qutb Shāh on Throne, blue, black, white, vermilion and deep red colours are used.

1 Indian Book Painting. Pl. 19.

CHĀND BĪBT WITH HER MAIDENS.

(Size 2'-9" x 4'-1" Figs. 1 and 2.)

This is a very interesting painting, and shows the Deccani style at its best. In this picture two incidents are portrayed. In the background king Ādil Shāh¹ mounted on horse is seen with his female retinue; and in the foreground Chānd Bibt² is represented resting in the pleasure grove. She is represented lying on a cot in the pleasure grove wearing flowered trousers (*pāyāmā*), white *kurti* reaching the ankle, anklets, armlets (*bājā*), bangles (*chāuri*) and necklaces. The special point to be noticed in connection with these ornaments is the use of pompon (*nahtāl*), a decoration held in great favour in the time of Akbar and in the early years of the reign of Jahāngir. She is surrounded by a number of female attendants. One is fanning; another is holding a betel-box (*pāndān*); and a third, who is called in the inscription overhead as Mushtaq Bt, stands with her leg entwined to the slender trunk of a tree. Two attendants are seated on the ground, one pouring wine, and another washing her feet. Chānd Bibt is listening to the music of the *pīnā* played by a female musician seated on the trunk of the tree near her head. On the left some female attendants are enjoying a conversation, while a few of them have waded in the rocky pool; one is rinsing her hair; a second is swimming; and a third is calling her companion to enjoy the fresh and cool water of the pool. The whole scene is indicative of a carefree sportive spirit of the queen and her

1. Ali Ādil Shāh (1558-1580). He succeeded his father Ibrāhīm in 1558, and began his reign by publicly assuming Shī'a creed. His reign is chiefly to be remembered by the defeat of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar in the Battle of Talikota in 1565. He married Chānd Bibt, the daughter of Hussain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. He was killed in 1580 by an eunuch.
2. Chānd Bibt. Ali Ādil Shāh married Chānd Bibt, the daughter of Hussain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar in 1568. After the death of Ādil Shāh in 1580 she took charge of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II, the nephew of the king. In 1584 the queen mother returned to her native city Ahmadnagar, never to return again. During her residence at Ahmadnagar, the Mughals under the command of Murād invaded the territory. The queen rose to the occasion and fought hard. Impressed by her bravery Prince Murād conferred on her the title of Chānd Sultānā, and the army returned after the cession of Berar. While the city was besieged by the Emperor Akbar himself she was killed by the treachery of one Hamīd Khān who declared her to have betrayed the country to the Mughals. (Kincaid and Parasnis. A History of the Marhatta People. Vol. I, pp. 100-101.)

attendants. A saddled horse stands on the extreme left. In the background, on the right, is seen Alī Ādil Shāh mounted on a horse, wearing *jāmā*, trousers, turban and ornaments, with a hawk perched on the right hand. He is followed by a group of five attendants, three holding the peacock-tail fly-whisks, and two umbrella and *nishān*—the symbols of royalty. He is preceded by a number of female attendants wending their way by the banks of the hilly canal. Some of them hold peacock-tail fly-whisks; others hold hawks; while one or two hold the birds killed by the hawks. On the left is seen a mountain with a fort. The costume of the attendants consists of *kurtis*, trousers, and ornaments, with great display of pompons.

It is difficult to assign any exact date to this painting. We have short inscriptions in Persian on the cot describing the lady lying down as Chānd Bī and Chānd Bānu, the name of an attendant as Muhstaq, and another inscription over the head of a maid of which only Bānu can be read. The inscription over the head of the king is unfortunately misleading. It describes him as Āzam Shāh, a son of Aurangzib, who proceeded against Bijapur, which fell in 1686¹ and was finally killed in the Battle of Jajau (1707) in the war of succession with Prince Mu'azzam.² But this is not possible because there is a difference of nearly a century between Āzam Shāh and Chānd Bī. Therefore one cannot help in assuming that the inscription was added at a later period by a hand ignorant of history, and in fact the king in this picture could be no other than Alī Ādil Shāh I of Bijapur, the husband of Chānd Bī.

The period of the reign of Alī Ādil Shāh falls between the years 1558-1580. He married Chānd Bī, according to Firāhta, in 1558; and therefore this scene according to the chronological order should have been painted between 1560 and 1570, when both must have been young. But the style of the picture is of later date. The naturalistic treatment of the trees, much toned down colour scheme, and the use of pompon which disappeared in the early years of Jahāngir (1605-1627), as is evinced by the paintings executed after 1610-1611, go to prove that the painting must have been executed in the first quarter of the 17th century.

Apart from the considerable artistic value of this picture in respect of technique and composition, it throws a consider-

1. Cambridge History of India. Vol. IV, p. 287.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

able light on the social life of Bijapur in the early seventeenth century. The first point to attract our attention is an outing which Chānd Sultānā is enjoying with her companions. It is very rare for the artists of this period who were accustomed to represent the life which the inmates led inside the harem and gardens to paint such scenes. They are often represented enjoying drinks, hearing the music, or whiling away their time in the company of their lords. The picture is a happy departure from this usual theme. Here we find a lady along with her companions enjoying the cool verdure of the forest, the shady trees, and pool of crystal-clear water. The beautiful landscape of the Deccan with its palm, mango and plantain trees, and rocky shelter have charmed these ladies. To give fullest expression to their joyous mood some are wandering, a few are bathing, another is playing the *vīṇā*, while the chief lady is stretching herself to remove the fatigue and weariness of the harem life.

As already described, the return of Ādil Shāh from a bird hunt with hawks is represented in the back ground. This method of hunting birds is very old. It would not be out of place here to give a little description of this sport which was so favourite with the Mughal princes. We know from a number of pictures of Akbar and Jahāngir periods that the kings and noblemen had their favourite falcons and hawks which were always perched on their gloved hands, with their heads covered. As soon as a bird was in sight the cover was taken off and the falcon released to catch the bird; and in a twinkie the bird was caught. This method of hunting birds by hawks and falcons was noted by the English travellers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ralph Fitch (1583-91) observed that besides tigers, buffaloes, etc., Akbar had hunting hawks.¹ According to Hawkins (1608-13) Jahāngir had four thousand hawks;² and according to Terry (1615-19) the Mughals delighted in hawking.³ Jahāngir was so fond of falcons that he very often describes some interesting species. Thus speaking of white falcons he says:—"On this day Qasim Khwājs of Dihlā had sent from Mā-warā'-n-nahr (Transoxania) by the hand of one of his tribesmen by way of supplication five *tayghān* (white falcons)... four arrived at Ujjain in safety....At this time Khān Ālam who had been sent as ambassador to the ruler of Persia sent an *ashyāni* falcon (bird from the nest) which in the Persian language they call 'ukna' Outwardly one cannot distinguish between these and

1. *Early Travels in India*. Ed. by W. Foster., p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

bazdāmī falcons by any particular marks, but after they have been flown the difference is clear."¹

At another place he mentions one falcon (*shungar*) of good colour sent from Persia with Tari Beg (the chief huntsman). Though it was brought to the court it did not live more than a week. "What can I write of the beauty and colour of this falcon? There were many beautiful black markings on each wing, back, and sides. As it was something out of the common I ordered Ustād Mansūr to paint and preserve its likeness."²

Hawking seems to have become a favourite with the Muslim States of the Deccan, as there are many paintings depicting hawking from Hyderabad in the Museum.

COSTUME AND ORNAMENTS.

Certain interesting details of the costume of the people in the early part of the seventeenth century as worn in the Deccan or all over the country where the Islamic civilisation had penetrated are to be noticed in this picture, though it must be said that every part of the country had preference to particular style of *pagri*, etc. Certain interesting points regarding the difference between northern and southern style will be observed as we examine the dresses worn by the figures in the picture in detail.

Edward Terry, the Chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, visiting India from 1616-19 gives a very accurate description of male and female costume of the period.

"The habits of both men and women are little different, made for the most part of white cotton cloth. For the fashion they are close, straight to the middle, hanging loose downward below the knee. They wear long breeches underneath, made close to their bodies, that reach to their ankles, ruffling like boots on the small of their legs. Their feet are bare in their shoes, which most commonly they wear like slippers, that they may the more readily put them off when they come into their houses whose floors are covered with excellent carpet (made in that kingdom, good as any in Turkie or Persia) or somewhat else (according to the quality of the man) more base, upon which they sit, when as they confer or eat, like sailors on their shipboards. The men's heads are covered with a long thinne wreath of cloth, white or coloured, which goes many times about them; they call *shash*.....their hair (Muhamadan women) hangs down behind them twisted with silk. Those of qualities are bedecked with many jewels about their necks

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Tr. by Rogers and Beveridge. Vol. II, pp. 10-11.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

and wrist. Round about their ears are holes made for pendants; and every woman hath one of her nostrils pierced, that there, when as she please, shee may weare a ring."¹

The costume worn by the figures in the picture coincides with Terry's description of the Mughal costume with minor changes. Examining the dress of the prince on the horse, the only male figure in the picture, we find that there is a difference in the *pagri* which he wears and the Mughal *pagri* as worn in the time of Jahāngir, which was twisted very loosely and pushed somewhat over the right ear.² In this *pagri* the scarf is wound round a very small cap; it is then gathered up at one end which runs in a broad band from neck to crown, flattened in front and brought into a rather pointed pad at the back. This form of *pagri* according to Kuhnelt and Goetz was evolved in the Shi'ite States of the Deccan, removed from the Mongolian influences and perhaps adapted from the Seljuk turbans familiar from Mesopotamia and Syrian miniatures and bronzes. This form though somewhat modified begins to appear by 1570 when Nujum al-'Ulām was composed.³ As observed later on in connection with Golconda pictures this type of turban continued to be worn practically all over the Deccan in the 17th century and even later. The flowered *ḡāna*, striped trousers, and light slippers (*pāpāsh*) all conform to the description of the Mughal costume by Terry. He however wears a *dupattā*, one end of which is thrown on the left shoulder, another hanging loosely in front, which was not generally worn by the Mughal kings in the north.

Considering the headdresses of the women there are distinctly three types; one class goes without any headdress, only the *oṛhāṭ* covering a little part of the hair at the back; the second class wears *pagris* more or less of the same type as the king, except that the knob at the back is not held by a sash; and the third class wears the crested cap of the Chaghatai, which served as uniform of the female guards of the harem, who came from Turkestan, the Urdu Begs, and some of the ladies' maids.⁴

The costume worn by the women is the type evolved in the period of Jahāngir—striped or plain trousers, a *kurtā* or chemise worn in combination of *choḡā*, opening in front and reaching the ankles.

1. Early Travels in India. Edward Terry, pp. 308-309.

2. Kuhnelt and Goetz. Indian Book Painting, p. 41.

3. The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures. Vol. II. pl. 5.

4. Kuhnelt and Goetz. loc. cit., pp. 29.

Terry's observation also holds good in the case of ornaments. The women wear silver rosettes (*śaphāṭ*) on one side of the hair, *śaṃkū* (earrings) in the ears, necklaces (*hār*), nose-ring (*naṭh*), armlets (*baṇḍ*) bangles (*churi*) and anklets (*pāṇḍ*). The most important part of their decorations are the pompons attached to the bangles and armlets. These pompons which came into existence in Humāyūn-Akbar period were largely used by the women-folk in decorating their ornaments. Even in the early years of Jahāngir the pompons were held in great esteem, as is evinced by the figures of women in the illustrations of Anwar, Suhaili, an illuminated manuscript the miniatures executed between the years 1604-11.¹ After Jahāngir the liking for pompons seems to have disappeared.

The largest painting measuring 11'-8½" × 2'-11", (Figs 3a, 3b and 4) is entitled, *The Procession of Abdu'llah Qutb Shāh* (1626-1672)², king of Golconda. In this picture a long procession is depicted, headed by the standard-bearer seated on an elephant, followed by the foot-soldiers and matchlock-men. Some soldiers carry drawn swords with shields dangling on their backs, while others carry spears and flags. Each section is commanded by the officers riding on horses carrying sticks in their hands to regulate the movements of the soldiers. At the head of the cavalry which follows the infantry is riding on a horse, Mir Jumla³, the premier of Golconda, with a naked sword in one hand. The line of horses is

1. Light of Canopus, described by J. Wilkinson
2. Born on November 12th, 1614, and succeeded his father in 1626, at the age of 12. He was a pleasure-loving king and the actual administration was always carried as first by his mother, and later on by his son-in-law. He was an easy-going king, weak and sensual, but at the same time he was a man of culture, who loved Persian and Arabic poetry, and the various paintings dating back to his reign show that he was a lover of pictorial art as well.
3. Mir Jumla, or Muḥammad Sayyid Amin was a native of Iran who sought his fortune in the Deccan. He came to Hyderabad in 1630, and by dint of personal merit he became an officer of Qutb Shāh in 1637, and by the end of 1646 he became all-powerful chief minister of Golconda. After his relations with Qutb Shāh became strained he joined the service of Shāh Jahān and was sent to Deccan to help Aurangzib's expedition against Bijapur. After serving the cause of Aurangzib in many expeditions he was sent to subjugate Assam and died in 1668. (For details see Govalkondyaci Qutbahahi, pp. 104-107, Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb, and Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. vide Mir Jumla.)

followed by *chawri* and towel-bearers; then follow two standard bearers mounted on elephants with their retinue. Then comes a line of horsemen and attendants, several of whom hold the royal insignia, flag, standards, staff, etc., and then appears the royal elephant surrounded by musicians, attendants holding betel-nut boxes, fans and *āvatis*. A line of picked soldiers armed with shields and drawn out swords march to the left of the king. King Abdullah wears flowered *jāmā*, a rich turban with *turrā* (aigrette), ornaments, and holds a flower. The royal umbrella-bearer is seated behind him. The king is followed by three officers, Bapu Mirzā,¹ Tanā Shāh,² and Nekanām,³ with their retinues, mostly staff-bearers (*charībardār*), a line of horsemen, and a line of elephants, accompanied by lancers who are naked save for their loin-cloths girt up with *kamardand*.

In the absence of any inscription giving the occasion for the procession it is difficult to say on which particular occasion it was taken out. But it may be on the analogy of the custom prevalent till recently at Hyderabad when the Nizam rode in the procession during Muharram, that this procession was also taken out on the occasion of Muharram to commemorate and bemoan the death of the martyrs Hasan and Husain.

The spirit of the procession is represented with great sympathy and the artist has done his best to represent the faces with accuracy, as can be judged by comparing some faces with the extant portraits in museums and private collections. It is indeed a good piece of art as practised in the Deccan in the period of Shāh Jahan, when the Mughal art had reached its zenith.

1. Mir Ahmad, or Sayyid Ahmad, was the eldest son-in-law of Qutb Shāh. After the death of Hayāt Baksh Begam, the mother of Sultan Abdullah, he exercised great influence over the king. Irvine considers him to be identical with Manucci's Sharif-ul-Ahmad, and Here Mirzā of Martin, who surrendered himself to Shāh Ālam in 1686 A. D. and died on the 8th July 1687.
2. Abul Hasan Tanashāh, the seventh or last king of Golkonda. He came of a respectable family. His father was in the service of Qutb Shāh. After his death he fell in evil days and joined as an officer in the cavalry of Qutb Shāh. The king married his third daughter to him in 1660. He was allowed to pass his time in pleasure and succeeded his father-in-law in 1672. Golkonda was captured during his reign (1687) and he was taken captive by Aurangzib. He died in 1704.
3. An eunuch general in the service of Abdullah Qutb Shāh. His real name was Rizā-Quli. He died on 30th. March 1672. Golkondya p. Qutb Shāhi p. 111.

DATE OF PAINTING.

A tentative date could be assigned to the painting at first glance, that is, the painting must have been executed while Abdullāh Qutb Shāh (1626-1672) reigned. But the presence of Mir Jumla, the chief minister, in this procession helps us to determine the date of this composition with greater exactitude. Muhammad Sajid Amm joined the service of Qutb Shāh in 1637 as *asrārkhān*, and was invested with the title of Mir Jumla in 1645 when Qutb Shāh made him general commanding the expedition against Sri Ranga of Carnatic. He held Carnatic till 1655 for his master, and the rift began when he wanted to become the master in Carnatic 1656.¹ Therefore this painting could with ease be placed between 1645 and 1655 when he was the chief minister, and not afterwards when he was considered an enemy of the State.

In this picture Tansāhāb, or Abul Hasan is represented as an officer of the cavalry; and therefore this picture must belong to a period prior to 1660, when he married the king's daughter.

ABDULLAH QUTB SHAH ON THRONE

(Size 2'-8" × 3'-5½", Fig. 5.)

Abdullāh Qutb Shāh wearing a flowered jama, a turban to match decorated with the strings of pearls and algrette (*barra*) is seated in Persian fashion on a *chāukī*, his back resting on a huge cushion. He is taking a folded betel-leaf (*pān*) from the tray held before him by one of his mistresses. She wears a striped skirt, bodice, an *orhānī* falling down the back, and ornaments consisting of necklaces, *māng*, *stephāl*, zone, (*bandhan*) anklets, etc. Behind the king on the right stand two female attendants; one of them is whisking flies from the king by a piece of cloth. A little away from these attendants stands an old attendant wearing a full skirt, bodice with full sleeves, and *orhānī* which covers her head. She holds a staff. A girl of tender age wearing trousers, *jāmā* and a high cap stands nearby. On the left there are three female attendants. One holds the peacock-tail fly-whisk, the second a *pān*-box, and the third who wears *jāmā*, trousers and high cap, and holds a staff, stands at a little distance from the first two. A carpet is laid on the floor on which a spittoon, betel boxes, etc. for the use of the king are placed. A peacock and a deer also stand on the floor. Apparently they are the pets of the king. In the foreground is a fish pond abounding in gold fish, and a bubbling fountain.

1. Govil-kondya et Qutbshahi, pp. 106-109.

The inscription at the head of the king claims him to be Muhammad Qutb Qutb Shah (1580-1626), the fifth king of Golconda. But apparently this inscription is wrong and must have been added at a later period by an ignorant man. The portrait of the king in the picture entitled "Procession of Abdullah Qutb Shah" already described is the same as in this picture, and these two portraits in their turn coincide with the portrait of Abdullah Qutb Shah in the album of miniatures copied from the miniatures in the possession of the Rājā of Salars and presented to the Museum by the heirs of Sir Bartle Frere. With the above resemblance there cannot be any doubt that this portrait signifies Abdullah Qutb Shah in his youth.

There is another inscription in Persian on the head of the old attendant reading '*sada baingani*'—deep purple, apparently a hint for the painter to paint the scarf of the old woman in purple. Such colour hints are often found in Pahari and Mughal paintings when they are unfinished. But this painting is finished, and therefore the only explanation which can be offered for this colour hint is that at a subsequent period after this painting was executed the colour must have faded off from that particular portion, and a painter must have been ordered to repaint it with purple, and he inscribed the direction forgetting afterwards to erase it.

These paintings are also the authentic records of the costume and ornaments of the people in the Deccan, which though not differing much from the costume of the people in the north, had some individuality of its own. An anonymous authority (1608-1610) describing the costume and ornaments of the people of Golconda, though nearly half a century earlier than the period of our pictures, proves that the costume in 1650 or even later was much the same as in 1610. Describing the costume he says:—"Those who have intercourse with the men in authority, or who serve them, in the towns usually wear '*cobayna*'. Women ordinarily wear a cloth, 12 cubit long, and 2 cubit broad, just tied round the waist, and then brought over the right shoulder; the head is never covered, except that the aforesaid cloth passes over it. Some of them wear a small bodice fitting closely under the arm and breast where it is fastened and reaching below the elbows leaving the body naked from the breast to the navel".¹

In these two paintings the details of the costume of both men and women, as worn in Golconda in circa 1660, are depicted clearly and are the same as described above. The men, including the king, without exception wear qabas (*jāmā*), some made of plain muslin, while others of printed muslin for which the Kingdom of Golconda

1. W. H. Moreland, *Relations of Golconda*, pp. 76-77.

was so famous.² The close-fitting trousers are plain or striped; *kumarchanda* or waist-bands are invariably wound round the waist with two ends hanging in front. The *pagris* worn by the soldiers are of many varieties. The ordinary kind is made by winding round several folds of twisted cloth on the head in such a way as to leave a protuberance at the back, and the folds are held together by a sash mounted on the *pagri* more or less of the same pattern as at Bijapur half a century earlier. Another kind is a circular *pagri* worn chiefly by the matchlock-men, while the third kind though worn rarely, is a form of Persian *dastār*, which is a primitive form of Hyderabad turbans worn these days.

The costume of the womenfolk of Golconda is truly depicted in the picture entitled "Qutb Shāh on the Throne". It is the same as seen by the anonymous authority we have just quoted. The women standing round the king wear transparent *sāris* over a striped or flowered skirt. The *sāri* is brought over the right shoulder, slightly covering the head, and falling on the back while one end is passed over the breast and tucked in the bodice under the right arm-pit. The bodice also conforms to the description of the anonymous authority. There are however two women and a girl who are attired in Persian costume - *kurā*, - a long flowing robe, and trousers. Two of them wear cylindrical headdresses. This Chagtal headdress as seen in the Chand Bīr's picture from Bijapur conforms to the dress of Turkish maids and Urdu-begs.

FURNITURE

Two betel boxes and a spittoon are all that we see of furniture on the carpet. The carpet itself very delicately woven, having rosette patterns enclosed in two serrated leaves, might have been a product of Golconda. The most important articles of furniture in this picture however are Chinese porcelain, which are arranged on niches behind the king. In India Chinese vases etc. were greatly appreciated by the Mughal emperors as is evident from the story of the china dish in possession of Jahāngir.³ Besides being used as vessels for food the china-ware of the Ming period served as furniture to decorate, as is evident from the Mughal paintings. The celadon ware was in much demand as celadon plates etc. were said to split while in contact with poison. Thomas Roe testifies that presents of china-ware were appreciated by the Mughal Court.⁴ Bijapur sent presents of china-ware to

1. W. H. Moreland, loc. cit. p. 35. William Meshwold's Relation.

2. Early Travels in India, (Hawkins), p. 109.

3. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1615-1619). Ed. W. Foster. p. 476.



FIG. 1—Chand Bibi and her Maidens
Deccan School,
1st quarter of the 17th Century.

Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydarji Leas Collection.



Fig. 2—Details from Fig. 1.

(a)



(b)



Fig. 3 (a) & (b)—Procession of Abdullah Qutb Shah:
Deccani School.
Painted between 1648-1658

Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hyderi Loan Collection.



Fig. 4—Details from Fig. 3



Fig. 6—Abdullāh Qurb Shāh on the throne,
Deccan School, Circa 1655

Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hyderi Loan Collection.

Jahangir¹. In the kingdom of Golconda Chinese porcelain was held in great demand. According to Schorer "Porcelain of various kinds sells very well, especially the fine qualities, and yields a good profit according to kind, and hence no price can be named"². In the later times the fondness for Chinese ware grew so much that in the paintings of the eighteenth century from Hyderabad the interiors are always decorated with porcelain flower vases and *surāhī*, etc.

MOTI CHANDRA.



1. Roe, *Ibid.*, p. 110.
2. Moreland, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.

CAUSES OF INDIAN GOLD EXPORTS

In view of the declining gold exports from India, the controversy about the advisability of those exports appears to be over. This gives us, however, an opportune moment to review the causes of that phenomenon in a spirit of academic detachment. The question why gold has been exported out of this country has been sadly mixed up with the question whether it should be exported or not; with the result, that several economists have tried to answer the first question in a manner which fits in with their answer to the second. But no attitude of mind is more unsuited to arriving at a scientific truth than that which has wish as father to the thought.

It is important at the outset to distinguish between gold sales and gold exports, and to note that the causes of gold sales, though relevant, are not sufficient to explain gold exports. Hence it is necessary to enquire into the causes of gold sales and next into the reasons why that gold was sold abroad, that is, exported.

CAUSES OF GOLD SALES

L. *Abandonment of Hoarding Habit.* It has been argued that the sale of gold on so large a scale is due to the fact that the Indian masses have given up their hoarding habits and have realised the uselessness of locking up their assets in gold on the one hand, and borrowing at the moneylender's iniquitous rates on the other. The fact that ever since 1924-25 the imports of gold in India were declining, and even those decreasing imports were not absorbed into general consumption but were being tendered to the Government at the Statutory rate in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Currency Act 1927, has been interpreted to show that the hoarding habit ceased not by a magic wand but by a gradual process. This idea has found ostensible support in some of the remarks of the Controller of Currency made in his Annual Reports. But it is misleading to ascribe the fall in the imports and local consumption of gold to a weakening of the hoarding habit. It was, in fact, the low purchasing power of the people and their preference for cheap silver that accounted for that phenomenon. Nor could the increase in receipts of Post Office Cash Certificates indicate any growth of the investment habit, as that was largely due to the increase in the rate of interest. The increase in the receipts of Post Office Cash Certi-

fications after the year 1931-32 can in no way be pointed out as a sign of the growth of investment habit in India, which led to gold exports. On the contrary, this increase was a *result* of the exports of gold.

Moreover, the hoarding habit could not have been abandoned at a time when the Indian peasant could congratulate himself on having been so wise—all admonitions notwithstanding, as to have kept his savings in gold, the one commodity which had experienced such a remarkable rise in price, in spite of the slump all round.

2. *Prevalence of Distress.* That the world-wide depression hit our people hard, is no longer a matter of academic discussion. That the agriculturist was the worst sufferer is equally obvious. Prices of agricultural produce in India fell by about 50 per cent from 1929 to 1933, and we all know how prices of manufactured or semi-manufactured goods did not fall to that extent. Though the Indian peasant does not spend any considerable portion of his income on such articles; and though allowance must be made for the low prices at which he must have been able to procure his requirements in the form of other raw produce like pulses, tobacco, oilseed, sugar cane, (supposing him to be a wheat or rice grower,) there is little doubt that his suffering must have been intense, specially when payments on account of land Revenue and water charges remained practically fixed. Stray cases of suspensions and remissions could have no appreciable effect. Under these circumstances, if he thought of selling the ornaments and jewellery worn by his females, it would look quite reasonable. But, while so far the argument is worthy of respect, an attempt to make out distress as the sole or even as a predominant cause of gold sales is untenable, though it is not denied that distress vitally affected the pace or volume of gold sales. By itself, distress would not have sufficed to bring about more than a fraction of the sales that actually took place.

The return of gold from up country markets to Bombay even prior to September 1931, has often been held up as a proof that distress was the basic and original cause of gold exports. But it is conveniently forgotten that it was the fall in the price of silver which had, partly at any rate, hastened this return of gold. "The very heavy fall in the price of silver had the effect of causing a steady consumption of that metal and it is probable that some of the cultivators' savings which would have been invested ordinarily in the purchase of gold found their way into cheap silver." The highest price of silver in Bombay, per 100 tolas, country bar, was

Rs. 58-13-0 in April 1929 and by stages had reached the low level of Rs. 44-10-0 in August 1931. It therefore stands to reason that in the absence of such a heavy fall in the price of silver, "5000 to 6000 tolas of fine gold" would not have been parted with and tendered to the Government. That exactly the same thing happened in China about this time, that is, fall in the price of silver led to sale of gold, is both relevant and significant.

Certain actual observations *e.g.* most of the gold offered for sale being in the form of ornaments, gold coming out from distressed areas, the coincidence of the period of depression and that of gold exports, have all tended to nurse a misconception in the minds of men that the gold exported is all "distress gold." But even though there had been no distress whatsoever, gold exports would have taken place after September 1931, though at a somewhat diminished rate.

Our conclusion therefore is that while distress has been one of the two most important causes of gold sales, it is not correct to regard it either as a sole or as a determining cause of such sales, and still far less a sufficient cause of gold exports.

3. *High Price of Gold.* The real cause of gold sales in India was the sudden and rapid rise in the Rupee price of gold, which happened immediately the Gold Standard was abandoned in India in September 1931. The price of gold immediately prior to the financial crisis was somewhere between Rs. 21-3-0 and Rs. 21-4-0 per tola of country bar at Bombay but in October the price rose to Rs. 24-14-0, in November to Rs. 26-0-0, in December to Rs. 28-14-0 and thereafter with slight interruptions in its upward trend, rose up steadily to Rs. 36-4-5 in March 1935.

Not only was this the immediate but also a sufficient cause of gold sales, whereas distress worked only as a reinforcing factor. The necessity of maintaining day to day expenditure in the face of falling prices, was no doubt increasing the need to sell gold, but it was mainly the temptation to avail of high prices that brought about those huge sales of gold. Thus, while distress prepared the psychological ground for readiness to sell, the abrupt and remarkable rise of the price of gold worked the rest. The latter by itself would have been sufficient to cause gold sales, and should therefore be regarded as the *immediate, sufficient and indispensable* cause of gold sales. Much of the gold that has been sold is due to the desire to make a profit. The difficulty of establishing a complete correlation between the rise in the price and the exports of gold should not lead us to believe that gold exports

were not caused by the high price of gold. That the correlation is approximate enough is sufficient for our progress. A perfect correlation could, if at all, be established only between the *sales* of gold and the rise in the prices, and the relation between *exports* and the prices cannot by its nature be perfect, because there is a time-lag between the sale of gold and its export abroad. Moreover, all gold that might be sold might not be exported. Besides, the rise in the price of gold has been so great from the very outset that fine movements upwards and downwards have not produced any directly visible and statistically verifiable effect on gold sales. The rise in the price has been tempting enough to draw upon some of the most cherished and jealously guarded hoards, and it is wholly irrelevant if the curve of gold exports is not perfectly similar to that of the price of gold. Instead of frankly admitting all this, the Review of the Trade of India for 1931-32 has sought to establish a correlation between Rupee prices of gold and gold exports in a manner not commendable for its accuracy. To show that the *value* (and not quantity) of gold exports moved up as the price of gold rose is hardly a conclusive evidence of a complete correlation between the two; for if gold rises in price, the value of gold exports will correspondingly rise, even though the quantity may have remained stationary.

B. CAUSES OF GOLD EXPORTS.

Having examined and found out why gold was sold at all, we must next address ourselves to the problem: Why was all this gold sold abroad, that is, exported? The prevalence of acute distress, the abandonment of hoarding habit or the high price of gold can, *at the most*, offer explanations—however satisfactory or otherwise—only for the *sale* of gold and not for its export.

Gold movements between different countries take place for various reasons. Gold may be exported on ordinary trading account from mining countries to those that require it. Gold may be sent because of its being in several cases the only commodity which is freely accepted in the final discharge of International obligations. Hence, the withdrawal of foreign balances, flight of indigenous capital, repayment of foreign loans or mere payment of interest thereon, or adverse balances of trade may lead to depletion of gold reserves of a country.

1. *Capital Movements.* Movements of Capital have, in the post-war world, been mainly responsible for the reshuffling of gold reserves between the different countries. Of late, "pressure on

the foreign exchange market due to demand for remittance in consequence of a rush of new long term issues in the Capital market, or the withdrawal of short-term balances from a money-market in consequence of political unrest in the borrowing or lending country " has often led to gold exports. That this has been the predominant factor in the redistribution of gold reserves in Europe and America during the last 15 years may be readily admitted.

The Indian exports of gold, however, cannot be accounted for by Capital movements of a significant size. Unfortunately no statistics are available to strictly verify our position, but as there were no pre-requisite conditions for such movement, we can safely draw the above conclusion. It is only when the currency at home is too unstable to inspire confidence or when there is a prospect of its devaluation by the currency authority, or when the rate of interest allowed on deposits is low as compared with another country that Capital tends to move from the one to the other country where the interest rate is higher and the currency conditions stabler. Political and psychological reasons, too, sometimes account for heavy withdrawals of foreign balances. But all of these conditions were, one and all, conspicuous by their absence in this country.

The rates of interest in India were, on the contrary, higher than in England, America, France and Netherlands to which nearly all our gold was exported. Right up from April 1931 to March 1935, there was not a single month in which the Indian rate of discount was not higher than either the French, British or American rate. It was only in May 1935 (when the Indian gold exports had gone on well nigh for four years) that due to financial difficulties in France, the rate there suddenly rose to 6 per cent while the United Kingdom and the F.R. Board in America continued to have very low rates viz. 2 per cent and 1.91 per cent respectively while the Indian rate was 3.5 per cent until October of that year. Nor had the rise in the rate of discount any appreciable effect on capital movements from India, for the total quantity of gold exported from India to France in the year 1935-36 amounted only to Rs. 64 lakhs out of the total exports of gold worth Rs. 37, 35 lakhs. There was thus no temptation of a higher rate of interest abroad to encourage any " flight of capital ".

Nor was the condition of the currency such as to lead to any marked preference for a foreign currency. The Rupee was linked to the Sterling which, though depreciated in terms of gold, enjoyed considerable prestige and soon gathered to itself the other

currencies in what is called a 'Sterling Bloc.' The exchange value of the Rupee was maintained firmly at 1s. 6d. by the Government. It is true that in 1933 when the Reserve Bank of India Bill was being discussed in the Indian Legislature, the Indian Currency League and several other bodies tried to commit the government to a lower ratio, and if the government had shown any compromising attitude, Capital would have flown out in anticipation of the reduction of the rate, but the Government all along maintained their view point, with the result that in spite of certain 'bear' attacks on the Rupee, the exchange remained pretty firm.

The factors tending to political instability had practically been put down with a firm hand by Lord Willingdon whose Viceroyal regime saw the beginning of wholesale arrests of Congress leaders and volunteers. Thus no cause making for Capital movements existed by September 1931, or after. The repayment of loans by the Government of India in this period has been a direct result, and can by no stretch of imagination be considered a cause, of the gold exports.

2. *Unfavourable Trade Balances.* Some economists in India have, consciously or otherwise, subscribed to the view that the shrinking balances of trade in merchandise have been responsible for the payment of gold to foreigners in the settlement of International accounts. It is argued that while formerly the balance of trade in merchandise was so favourable to India that even after paying for the invisible items, India could have a favourable balance payable in gold or silver, the position has substantially changed after the advent of the trade depression, when due to several causes (*e.g.* marked fall in prices of agricultural goods, loss of markets abroad due to our inefficient methods of production and growth of tariffs) the balance of trade in merchandise has continuously decreased, with the result that India has been compelled to export gold in order to meet her International commitments on account of the 'invisible' imports.

The table given below shows how the Indian balances have steadily shrunk.

Balance of Trade in Merchandise. (Lakhs of Rupees)

<i>Average of the 5 years ending</i>	<i>Balance of Trade in Merchandise (Private)</i>
1913-14	78, 27
1918-19	76, 31
1923-24	53, 14
1928-29	112, 80

Year

1928-29	86.47
1929-30	78.98
1930-31	62.05
1931-32	34.83
1932-33	3.22
1933-34	34.74
1934-35	22.96
1935-36	30.55

It is thus clear that in the five pre-war years the average favourable balance was Rs. 78.27 lakhs, in the five years covering the war period the figure stood at Rs. 76.31 lakhs; in the five post-war years ending 1923-24 the average was Rs. 53.14 lakhs and in the next five years ending 1928-29 the surplus averaged Rs. 112.80 lakhs. This was the period when the balances stood at their highest. The separate figures for the years 1923-24, 1924-25 and 1925-26 appear to be intoxicating indeed; they were Rs. 144.88 lakhs, Rs. 155.01 lakhs and Rs. 161.13 lakhs respectively. From these dim heights the balances fell steadily to Rs. 86.47 lakhs in 1928-29; to Rs. 78.98 lakhs in 1929-30; to Rs. 62.05 lakhs in 1930-31; to Rs. 34.83 lakhs in 1931-32. Never in the history of India's foreign trade has there been such a rapid and continuous downward trend in the balances as was witnessed during these years. The year 1932-33 saw the balance almost vanishing. Thereafter, however, some improvement was recorded and the balance was Rs. 34.74 lakhs in 1933-34, though it again fell to Rs. 22.96 lakhs in 1934-35. In 1935-36, the balance rose to Rs. 30.55 lakhs. Such is, in short, the story, and according to many a tragic one, of the Indian balances.

Now the question is, how far were these deteriorating balances the cause of gold exports from India? There is no doubt a fair degree of correspondence between the balances and net flow of specie from India, as can be gathered from the table given below.

(Lakhs of Rupees)

Year	Balance of trade in Merchandise (Private)	Net exports of gold (coin and bullion)	Net exports of silver	Net exports of gold and silver
1931-32	37.86	56.98	0.42	57.40
1932-33	3.38	65.53	2.02	67.55
1933-34	35.67	57.06	6.36	63.42
1934-35	23.42	52.54	5.41	57.95
1935-36	30.55	37.90	0.68	38.58

It is true that the correlation is far from complete but that can partly be explained away by saying that it is between the balances of *Account* and the flow of specie that a correlation can possibly be perfect. Besides, the process of balancing does not consist of "a calculation made at stated periods, but of an infinite series of day to day transactions."

Still the above arrangement is open to the following serious objections which strike at its very root and destroy all its plausibility.

1. It is not correct to say that "for the last five years commencing from 1931-32 India's export surplus has so much dwindled down that to meet her foreign obligations India had to export a large quantity of gold." Because the balance of trade in merchandise was favourable to the tune of Rs. 34.86 lakhs in 1931-32, and though this was admittedly a great decline from the previous years' balances, hardly any movement of gold was necessary to balance our International payments; at any rate, so large an amount as Rs. 57.40 lakhs worth of gold was not in the least required by the circumstances. In the years following, too, we have witnessed a much larger export of gold than could possibly be justified by the balances being low. It is one thing to say that the exports of gold have made the task of balancing International Payments much easier than would otherwise have been the case, but quite another to say that the gold exports were *caused* or *brought about* by the diminishing balances of trade. Besides, it may be possible to prove that the low balances necessitated some outflow of gold but surely the gold exports on so large a scale could not be ascribed to this cause.

2. The low balances of trade during the last four years are themselves due *partly* to the gold exports, and to that extent, at any rate, gold exports could not have been caused by them, but rather they were caused by the gold exports. For, if there had been no gold exports, the imports of foreign merchandise in India would have suffered a great set-back in view the then lower purchasing power of the people; and this decrease in imports would no doubt have improved the balances to a certain extent.

3. It is not essential that as soon as a country has an unfavourable balance of account it should export gold, for there is also another method open to that country, of tiding over that difficulty, and that is, raising loans abroad. "In conditions of relatively stable equilibrium therefore, gold movements were the *last* element in a delicately balanced and self-corrective mechanism by which national price levels and interest rates were kept in

adjustment one with another." Thus temporary gaps in the balance of payment may be met by credit arrangements which avoid the necessity either of altering the ratio of commodity trade or of utilising gold for payments. "*When it becomes difficult to get this credit, it becomes necessary to ship gold.*"

Thus gold exports would have been inevitable only if the government could not, or would not, borrow abroad but as a matter of fact nothing of the kind was the case. That it was not difficult for India to borrow abroad is clear from the fact that the credit of India has never been so high as in recent years, and the government has not unoften prided itself on this achievement. If the government could borrow about Rs. 32 crores in 1931-32, it could do the same in the year following too, had there been any need. But almost immediately after India went off the Gold Standard in September 1931, a 'gold rush' began, and the exports were so large that the government took advantage of the consequent cheapness of sterling to repay some of its obligations to England. If the gold exports had been necessitated to balance International Payments in view of the inability or unwillingness of the government to raise loans abroad, surely people would not have exported gold out of all proportion to the necessity of balancing payments.

We are therefore forced to the conclusion that neither Capital movements nor unfavourable balances have been responsible for the phenomenon of gold exports.

3. *A Business Proposition.* The real reason why the people of India have been exporting gold all these five years and more is that the Rupee price of gold in India has, all along, been lower than the Sterling price in England or Dollar price in America, reckoning the value of these currencies at the market rates of exchange. When in September 1931 England and India went off the Gold standard, the prices of gold in both the countries rose, but in India, the rise of the price was less rapid than in England. Hence it was found profitable to purchase gold in India for a particular Rupee price, ship it to England, realise English money from there which when converted into the Rupees (at the rate of One Rupee = 1s. 6d.) gave more than was actually spent on the purchase. In other words the gold purchasing power of the Rupee has all along been higher than that of 1s. 6d. in England. The next question is: Why was the purchasing power of the Rupee in terms of gold greater than that of 1s. 6d.? And, why does that continue to remain so? Is it that the currency authority has, in fixing the rate at 1s. 6d. undervalued the currency and thereby brought about the gold

exports? There is no doubt that considering the gold purchasing power of the Rupee and that of the Sterling, the Rupee is definitely undervalued; in fact the very fact of gold exports is a proof. But that does not mean that our Rupee is generally undervalued in terms of Sterling. For if that had been so, not only gold but several other articles of merchandise would have been exported abroad. But the peculiar feature of India's foreign trade during the years of depression has been that there has been a tremendous fall in our exports of merchandise. Thus to say that the Rupee was undervalued generally in relation to Sterling is to talk of the ridiculous. In fact, the opposite criticism namely that the government have overvalued the Rupee at 1s. 6d. and that a lower rate ought to have been fixed from the very start in 1926-27, is more tenable. It has been advanced that the Government have pitched the exchange rate so high that imports have gained at the expense of exports and the balances in favour of India have shrunk. This, according to many, has brought about the outflow of gold. Such critics have per force to pin their faith to the Balances of Trade argument just disposed of above. Thus the present gold exports did not have their origin in the "over-valuation" of the Rupee, and certainly by no stretch of imagination in its "undervaluation". If the price of gold in India was comparatively lower, that was not due to any fault of the Exchange rate being too high or too low. It was the peculiar conditions of demand for, and more still the peculiar conditions of supply of, gold in India that led to this comparatively low level of prices of gold in India.

Gold has been hoarded in India in large quantities for a very long time indeed. In the first thirty years of this Century alone the net quantity of gold absorbed in India has been worth about Rs. 548 crores. All this gold was brought at a time when the prices of gold were very low, and there was therefore a potential supply ready to be offered for sale, should the price rise very high. In other countries hoarding had not been practised on any such large scale and hence no such "gold mines" ready to be opened, were available. No wonder, therefore, that the soaring prices after October 1931 should have found many willing sellers in India. Besides, the readiness to dispose of gold increased with the severity of the depression which had the additional effect of curtailing peoples' demand for gold. The unduly large demand for gold in Europe due to the International scramble for gold, instability of national currencies and private hoarding, had no counterpart in India. Hence the price of gold in India did not rise as much as it rose in

other countries. The elasticity of supply of gold which astonished the most optimistic, and the low level of demand were responsible for the failure of the price to rise rapidly enough to come up to the level of the price prevailing abroad. Hence gold flowed out to markets where it commanded higher prices.

N. S. PARDASANI



THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES OF THE JANJIRA STATE.

I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND GENERAL SURVEY OF THE STATE.

The Janjira State¹ is in Konkan lying between 18° and 18°-31' north and 72°-53' and 73°-17' east. The State is bounded on the north by the Kundalika river or the Revdanda creek, in the Kolaba District, on the east by the Roha and Mangaon Talukas of the same District; on the south by the Bankot creek in Ratnagiri District and on the west the Arabian sea. About the middle of the coast line 40 miles long, the Rajpuri gulf divides Janjira into two main portions, northern and southern. The total area of the State is 324 sq. miles.

The surface of the State is covered with spurs and hill ranges, averaging about 1000 ft. in height, one peak being 1300 ft. above the sea level, and generally they are running parallel to the arms of the sea penetrating eastwards into the interior. The sides of the hills are thickly wooded except where cleared for cultivation. Inland from the coast rise ranges of wooded hills. Near the mouth of the creeks belts of palm groves 1-2 miles broad fringe the shore. Behind the palm groves lie salt marshes and mangrove bushes. Behind these again the rice-lands of the valleys.

None of the rivers is more than 5 to 6 miles in length. The larger water courses flow Westward. During the rains they are very torrents but dwindle to mere rills at other seasons. The chief creeks and bulk-waters are, beginning from the North, the Borli-Mandla, Nandgaon, Murud, Rajpuri, Panchatan, and Shrivardhan. All the creek entrances are rocky and dangerous.

The rock is almost all trap with, on the higher hill slopes, laterite or ironstone in large boulders. The hills are well wooded, teak being plentiful in the north. Tigers, leopards, hogs and wild cats are found in some part.

Except the plots of rich alluvial rice land in the valleys and some sandy tracks near the coast, the usual red strong soil of the Konkan prevails throughout the Janjira State. The total area under cultivation is 103753 acres under survey tenure, and 1248

1. The dependency of Jafraabad is excluded from this study.

highness of kowli and unsurveyed lands in inam villages.¹ The total arable waste land available for cultivation during the year 1935-36 was 7531 acres and 39 guntas.

The climate is moist and relaxing but not unhealthy. The sea breezes cool the coast and the hill tops.

During the year 1935-36 the total rainfall in the state was 102.81. The following table gives the details:—

TABLE NO. 1.

State	April 35	May 35	June 35	July 35	Aug. 35	Sept. 35	Oct. 35	Nov. 35	Dec. 35	Jan'y. 36	Feb. 36	Mar. 36	Total
Jan- fra	0.0	0.1	25.20	29.34	29.51	17.76	1.72	0.13	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	102 -81

The average rainfall of the last five years in the State is 110.53.

The temperature of the State varies from 53° to 92°.

The population of the State according to the census report of the year 1931 is 98296. The following table gives the details:—

TABLE NO. 2.

Caste.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Hindus	34081	36476	70557
Muslims	7089	8915	16004
Depressed classes	4401	5000	9401
Hill tribes	723	799	1522
Jains	147	10	157
Christians	22	1	23
Others	293	339	632
Total.	46756	51540	98296

There are two towns and 228 villages and the following table shows the distribution of the population in these villages and towns.

1. The figures that are mentioned in this study and the statements that are made are all in relation up to the period ending the year 1935-36.

TABLE NO. 3

Population	No. of villages	Total population
Under 500 ...	182	37826
500-1000 ...	28	18544
1000-2000 ...	15	19511
2000-5000 ...	3	7238
over 5000 ...	2	14257
Encampment Boat and Railway Population	—	920
	230	98296

Thus the urban population is 14257 and the rural population is 84039. The number of houses that are occupied by the urban population is 2114 and the rural population stay in 17696 houses.

Out of the total population 98296, the number of literate persons is 7923,¹ i. e. 8% of the population. The following table gives the details.

TABLE NO. 4

Caste.	Male.			Female.			Total.		
	L	I	Tot.	L	I	Tot.	L	I	Tot.
Hindus	3563	31241	34804	445	36830	37275	4008	68071	72079
Muslims.	2203	4886	7089	1133	7782	8915	3336	12668	16004
D. C. ...	200	4201	4401	20	4980	5000	220	9181	9401
Jains ...	129	18	147	...	10	10	159	28	127
Christ ...	10	12	22	...	1	1	10	13	23
Others ...	155	138	293	65	274	339	220	412	632
Total ...	6260	40496	46756	1663	49877	51540	7353	90373	98296

N. B.—L = Literate; I = Illiterate; Tot = Total

1. Census report, 1931.

Next to agriculture which supports nearly 70% of the population, sea-fishing and toddy-tapping are the main occupations. The small industries in several villages are carried out, where articles such as silver brass and copper pots, wicker-ware, earthen-ware, iron works, coarse arees, shoes, etc. are made to meet the local wants.

The Janjira State is a first class State, under the direct political relationship with the Government of India, through the Deccan State Agency. The total income calculated on the average of last five years amounts to Rs. 11,30,984. It pays no tribute to the British Government nor to any State. It receives from the Junagad State an annual "Khandani" payment on Una Mahal of 360 Moambigiri Ryals, equivalent to Rs. 500.

II

THE UNTOUCHABLES OF THE STATE

SOCIAL CONDITIONS :

(i) *Population*:—We have seen that the total number of population of the untouchables of the Janjira State is 9401. The following table will show their different castes and their numerical strength.

TABLE NO. 5

Caste.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Mahar ...	3401	3963	7364
Chamar ...	894	934	1828
Koli-Dhor ...	93	91	184
Bhangi ...	10	7	17
Mang ...	3	5	8
Total ...	4401	5000	9401

Thus it can be seen that there are only two prominent untouchable castes in the State i. e. The Mahars and the Chamars and I have carried my research by studying 210 families of these

two communities. The following table gives the number of males and females of these families.

TABLE NO. 6.

Caste.	No. of families.	Persons		
		Male.	Female.	Total.
Mahar	139	401	351	752
Chamar	71	248	253	501
	210	649	614	1263

Thus it can be seen that the average size of a Mahar family is 5.5 and that of a Chamar family it is 7.0. It is no doubt a little larger than the average Indian family. For instance the average size of a house-hold of the Mahars of the Sasvad village is 4.8¹; that of a Konkani village it is 4.6². From the village studies in the Kolaba District it is 5.66,³ and that of the Aravi village in the Poona District, it is 5.1⁴; and that of the Badlapur village in the Thana District it is 5.1.⁵

From my previous study of the Untouchables of Maharashtra, it can be seen that the average size of a Mahar family is 7.7 and the average size of a Chamar family, is 7.3.⁶

It can be also seen from the above table that there is some deficiency of women in general among these classes. This fact is borne out from the table No. (5) which actually gives the census figures of these communities of the State.

We shall now consider the distribution of population of these families according to age.

1. The Mahars in a Deccan Village by Dr. H. H. Mann (Social Service League Quarterly 1916).
2. Economic and Social Survey of a Konkani Village by V. G. Ranade, Page 80.
3. Some Village Studies by S. R. Deshpande and Dr. G. S. Ghurye I.J.E., Vol. VII, Page 479 ;
4. "Gramodhar" by N. G. Apte, Page 96.
5. "Amche Gaen" by N. G. Chapekar, Page 2.
6. "The Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra" Page 3.

TABLE NO. 7.

(Mahars)

Age.	below 1	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 & above	Total
Male	14	34	43	35	61	95	40	44	29	6	401
Female	8	53	40	33	57	58	41	49	15	7	361
	22	87	83	68	118	153	81	93	44	13	762

TABLE NO. 8.

(Chamars)

Age.	below 1	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 & above	Total
Male	10	27	42	20	29	48	30	17	14	11	248
Female	18	35	32	33	38	40	24	23	9	6	253
	28	62	74	53	67	88	54	40	23	17	501

From the above two tables it can be said that the average longevity of the Mahars and the Chamars is somewhere between 30 and 40 as there is a sharp drop in the eighth column from 153 to 81 from the Mahar community and from 88 to 54 from the Chamar community. The percentage of death among women is greater at the age of 15 probably due to the deaths in pregnancy. From the first two columns it may be roughly said that the child mortality is little high.

(ii) *Literacy*.—We have seen from the table No. (4) the literacy of these classes according to the census report of 1931 is 2·3. From my study of these 210 families it can be seen from the following table that it comes to 4·2.

TABLE NO. 9.

Caste.	Male.			Female.			Total.		
	L.	I.	T.	L.	I.	T.	L.	I.	T.
Mahar	31	370	401	2	359	361	33	729	762
Chamar	17	231	248	3	250	253	20	481	501
Total	48	601	649	5	609	614	53	1210	1263

Note :—L = Literate ; I = Illiterate ; T = Total.

But if we compare this literacy with the other castes of the State we can realise that literacy among these classes is hardly out of infancy. Moreover if we take into consideration the standard of literacy and English literacy we can find that there is none in the State from these classes who has passed any qualifying examination and there are hardly two persons who can be said literate in English by courtesy.

There are various difficulties in the spread of literacy among these classes such as their economic backwardness, the segregation of their children as it is done in a majority of the village schools & want of special care of their children as these people are incapable of understanding the importance of education.

The following table gives the number of the untouchable school-going children in relation with the total number of school-going children during the last forty years.

TABLE NO. 10.

Year.	No. of untouchable Students.	No. of other Students.	Total No. of Students.
1895-97	187	3830	4017
1897-98	173	3780	3953
1898-99	159	3252	3411
1899-1900	142	3112	3254
1900-01	81	3055	3136
1901-02	65	2895	2960
1902-03	70	2728	2798
1903-04	49	2813	2862
1904-05	45	2913	2958
1905-06	61	3022	3083
1906-07	53	3114	3167
1923-24	33	3422	3455
1924-25	76	3509	3585
1926-27	94	3786	3880
1927-28	135	4004	4139
1928-29	144	3951	4095
1929-30	151	3967	4118
1930-31	158	4003	4161
1931-32	165	3998	4163
1932-33	170	4320	4490
1933-34	217	4370	4587
1934-35	169	4562	4731
1935-36	174	4809	4983

From the above table we can see that proportionately a large number of children of these Classes were attending the schools by the end of the last century as special attention was paid by the Government in matters of their education. No doubt it can be seen from the table that in recent years the number of Untouchable boys is steadily increasing, but special efforts are absolutely necessary for the rapid spread of education among them.

III

THEIR ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(i) *Occupations*.—The following table shows the number of persons of these classes following different occupations.

TABLE NO. 11

Nature of Occupations.	Mahar.			Chamar.			Total.		
	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.
1. Agriculture	61	43	104	25	22	47	86	65	151
2. Vatan	17	...	17	...	...	...	17	...	17
3. Casual Labour	121	87	208	22	16	38	143	103	246
4. Shoe-making	...	...	...	94	...	94	94	...	94
5. Domestic Service	84	...	84	13	...	13	97	...	97
Total	283	130	413	156	38	194	439	168	607

M=Male; F=Female; T=Total.

From the above table it can be seen that the Mahars have not permanent occupations, yielding permanent income. Some of them pursue their Vatan but they do not get any payment from the Government. No doubt they have got the right of *Baluta* i. e. the collection of grain from the villagers and Government tries to see that these people get their share. But in spite of that, nothing can be said with certainty about the collection. It all depends upon the economic conditions and the good-will of the villagers. Some years back a villager of Borli Mandla had stopped paying the *Baluta* to the Vatanidar Mahar for some years and consequently the Mahar had complained against the villager to the higher authorities and thus he recovered all his dues. But such cases rarely happen. Generally the Mahar Vatanidars are very much backward both economically and socially and he has entirely to depend upon the good intention of the villagers. If the relations of the Mahars are not in harmony with the villagers, they find very difficult

to recover the Baluta. Besides some of the villagers are themselves reduced to such poverty that they are unwilling to part with any portion of their income which is itself insufficient for their needs. There is another practice which is entirely detrimental to their interests. These people are very poor and in times of difficulties they approach the villagers and request them to pay a few annas in lieu of the Baluta that they may get in future.

As the Mahars have no hereditary occupations, naturally, they have to depend upon other types of occupations and that is why we find 50.4% of them are depending upon casual labour. But casual labour is not found at all times of the year and on all occasions. Besides except a few villages which are near the towns, the rest of them are scattered at great distance and these people do not get any scope for casual labour, except at the time of the harvest. Thus they have to sit unemployed for a major part of the year. That is why we find the economic backwardness among these classes to a greater extent.

It can be seen from the table, that 25% of the Mahar Community and 24.8% of the Chamar Community are following the agricultural profession, but a very large majority of them do not possess their own lands and they are cultivating the rented lands, with the result they find very difficult, to depend solely upon agriculture. Besides they do not get sufficient rented land for cultivation and naturally a large number of them are depending upon agricultural labour.

It can be seen from the table that 20.3% of the Mahar Community and 8% of the Chamar Community are employed as domestic servants especially at the Muhammadan Sewcars, who have advanced money to them for marriages and in return they have to serve a fixed number of years. Generally for a sum of Rs. 100 they have to put in service from 5 to 7 years. During their service they get paddy sufficient for their maintenance, clothes and a pair of sandals.

From the table we can find that 48% of the Chamars are depending upon their hereditary occupation of shoe-making. But owing to the scarcity of leather, they have to depend upon its importation from Bombay. Thus it does not become a profitable concern and so often they have to sit idle for days together. This is largely due to the fact that the dead cattle are simply thrown away in many villages without taking out the skin.

Thus there are 607 persons who are the principal and subsidiary earners out of the total number of 1263 persons. The

following table shows the relative proportion of the earners, the subsidiary earners and the dependents.

TABLE NO. 12.

Caste.	Principal Earners.			Subsidiary Earners.			Dependents.			Total.		
	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.
Mahars.	139	-	139	144	120	274	118	231	349	401	361	762
Chamars.	71	-	71	85	38	123	92	215	307	248	253	501
Total.	210	...	210	229	168	397	210	446	656	649	614	1263

M = Male; F = Female; T = Total.

From the above table it can be seen that the percentage of the male earners of the Mahar Community is 66% and from the Chamar Community 62.9%. The percentage of the Mahar female earners is 36% and that of the Chamar Community it is 15%. The females carry on the agricultural work or get some casual labour as well as agricultural labour; but as there is much scarcity of casual labour, as these people are practically landless and as they have no facilities to cultivate more rented lands, a large number of their women-folk has to sit idle.

(ii) *Earnings*.—The earnings of these classes are generally far below than the other agricultural classes. The following table gives their number of households with their monthly income.

TABLE NO. 13.

Caste	Monthly income in rupees									Total.
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41 to 50	51 & above	
Mahar	54	42	27	9	4	3	-	-	-	139
Chamar	22	20	13	10	3	2	1	-	-	71
Total.	76	62	40	19	7	5	1	-	-	210

From the above table it can be seen that both the untouchable Communities are economically very backward, nearly 36.1 of

them have their average monthly income less than five rupees and 29.5 of them have a monthly income more than five rupees but less than ten rupees. Thus it can be seen that a majority of these classes are in utter economic depressed conditions. Of the two Communities the Chamars are slightly well-off as they have their own hereditary occupation.

Now if we take into consideration the average income per family and per capita we can realise the economic backwardness of these classes. The following table gives the average income per family and per capita.

TABLE NO. 14.

Caste.	No. of families.	Total income per month.	Income per month per family.	Income per month, per capita.
Mahar	139	1245	8.9	1.8
Chamar	71	825	11.6	1.7
Total	210	2070	9.8	1.6

Thus the average annual income of a Mahar family is Rs. 105-12-0 and that of a Chamar family it is Rs. 139-4-0.

If these incomes are compared with the incomes of the agriculturists, made known through the few studies in the Bombay Deccan we find that these people are comparatively speaking economically much worse off. For instance in some villages of the Kolaba District the annual income per family is Rs. 218-6-11.¹ that in the "Social and Economic Survey of a Konkan Village" it is found to be Rs. 281-6-11²; that of a Mahar family in the Badlapur village it is Rs. 137-8-0 and of a Chamar family in the same village it is Rs. 234.³

From my study of the untouchables of Maharashtra it can be seen that the annual income of a Mahar family is 138/- and that of a Chamar family it is Rs. 234/-.⁴

1. "Some Village Studies" by S. R. Deshpande and Dr. G. S. Ghurye "Indian Journal of Economics" Vol. VII. 1926-27, page 472.
2. "Economic and Social Survey of a Konkan Village" by V. G. Ranade, page 60.
3. "Ambe Gaon"-Badlapur by N. G. Chapekar, Table facing page 164.
4. "The Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra." Page 19.

Judging from the above figures, it can be said that both the Communities are below to some extent the average standard of income of an average villager that is found out from the above studies.

It can be also seen that the annual income per capita of these Communities is very low and it is certainly not sufficient to satisfy the necessary requirements of human life.

(iii) *Indebtedness*.—Collection of figures showing indebtedness of these classes was a difficult task. I have found many cases where the borrowers themselves did not know the exact amount of their debt and in such cases they are naturally at the mercy of the money-lenders. In some cases I have found that they were not ready to expose their real position regarding their indebtedness probably due to their sense of prestige among their fellow-castemen. Some tried to over-estimate it and others to under-estimate it. But I have collected the figures with utmost precaution verifying them from all possible sources. The following table gives the frequency and the extent of their debts.

TABLE NO. 15.

Amount of debt.	Mahars. (No. of cases).	Chamars. (No of cases).	Total. (No. of cases).
Nil	51	20	71
Rs. 1-50	34	10	44
.. 51-100	27	16	43
.. 101-200	16	12	28
.. 201-300	6	9	15
.. 301-400	3	2	5
.. 401-500	1	...	1
.. over 500	1	2	3
	139	71	210

Thus it can be found out that 35% of the Mahar Families are free from debt and that of the Chamar Families it is 26%.

Paradoxical as it may appear that one-third of these families are free from debt. That does not mean that these families are in better economic conditions. But leaving aside a few of these families, they are all free from debt only because they are so poor and their credit is so low that no Sowcar would dare to lend them any money. Thus it can be very easily noticed the truth of the dictum "Debt follows Credit". On the contrary these people have to pay higher rate of interest to the Sowcars when they have no credit with them.

Now we will take into consideration the average amount of debt per family.

TABLE NO. 16.

Caste.	Amount of debt.	No. of families.		Average debt incurred.	
		Indebted	Without debt	Per indebted family.	Per Family
Mahar	10021	88	51	114.8	72.1
Chamar	7655	51	20	150.1	107.8
Total	17676	139	71	127.0	84.2

Thus we can find from the above table the Chamars are more indebted than the Mahars and this is invariably due to the fact that they are slightly well-off than the Mahars. If it is compared to my study of the untouchables of Maharashtra it can be found out that the average debt for per indebted Mahar family is 148.4 and for the Chamar family it is 163.2; while average debt incurred per family of the Mahars it is 91.9 and of the Chamars it is 104.4¹.

IV

THEIR GRIEVANCES AND THE REMEDIES AS
SUGGESTED BY THEM.

So far we have discussed the economic and social conditions of these classes. Various methods are suggested by people of all shades of opinion to better their economic and social conditions but in the following pages I have tried to analyse their own view-points regarding their immediate sufferings and the way out of it. I had put a question in my questionnaire to elicit how their economic and social uplift can be had and the following is the gist of their answers.

1. "The Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra," Page 99.

SOCIAL :

(1) *Removal of untouchability by law*.—Thirty Mahar families and eighteen Chamar families have suggested that the Government should pass a law removing the untouchability and they should find an access to all the public and private institutions. Untouchability has proved a severe handicap in their attempts of bettering their economic conditions and it will be a great boon to them if their untouchability is removed by law.

(2) *Education*.—The next step that a majority of them have suggested is that their salvation lies in the spread of education among them. No doubt there are Government Schools in several villages but they are not in a position to send their children to the Schools owing to their utter economic backwardness. Some of them have suggested that Government should give slates and books to their children. Besides most of the untouchable families are residing in villages and except at Taluka places, there is no provision of the higher Primary Education. Naturally they get no facility of receiving education upto the Vernacular Final Examination. That is why there is not a single individual from their communities in the State who has passed at least the Vernacular Final Examination. The Government, they think should, give to their children sufficient Scholarships to enable to complete their Vernacular Final Examination course, after they have finished the 4th Std. in the village schools. For instance a Mahar boy, who had creditably passed his 5th Std. in the Borli Mandla School, had a desire to prosecute his studies further but he could not join the Taluka School owing to his economic conditions and now he is forced to become a labourer.

Ten Mahar families and seven Chamar families have suggested that Compulsory Primary Education should be introduced for them so that after a time their literacy will be increased and it would help to better their social conditions.

Thirty-two Mahar families and twenty Chamar families have suggested that their children should be allowed to mix freely with the other boys of the school. In some schools these boys have to sit separately and naturally so much care is not taken by the teachers with regard to their studies. For instance a Mahar boy at Mazgaon Village had to leave his studies owing to his failure for three times in the same standard. This is attributed by the untouchables to the negligence on the part of the teacher of the school where the untouchable boys have to sit in the veranda.

(3) *Access to wells and other public institutions*.—Thirty-eight Mahar families and seventeen Chamar families have com-

plained that they have to suffer greatly on account of scarcity of water for their daily use. No doubt that they have public wells and tanks in some of their villages but they have no access to them owing to their untouchability. For instance in the village Usroll the dispute is going on, with regard to the use of the lake water. There is a big lake with ample provision of water but the Mahars and the Chamars are not allowed to take water by all the villagers including the Muhammadans; as they believe that the water will be polluted. For getting water they have to request somebody to pour water in their pots and in return they have to give some firewood or to pay in cash.

One Chamar family has complained that the Untouchables are not allowed to use the public water-taps at Murad. For instance there are three water-taps near the Palace, one is for the Muslims, the other is for the Hindus and the third for the Mahars. But the Chamars cannot take water from any of these three taps.

Ten Mahar families and nine Chamar families have complained that they do not get access freely in the Government offices and in the dispensaries. They have to stand at a distance and it involves a great loss of time and a lot of inconvenience. It is true that in various cases the doctors touch and see personally the conditions of the patients but ordinarily they have to wait outside and have to spend a lot of time.

Seven Chamar families have complained that they have to undergo various difficulties while they are in journey in the ferry-boats or in the Machwas. Sometimes the Tandels do not allow to enter in the Machwas on the plea that the food of other Caste Hindus may be polluted. Recently a case of this type had happened at Rajpuri where the untouchables were not allowed to enter into the Machwa.¹

Eight Mahar families and six Chamar families have said that they are very often cheated by the shop-keepers who give them the worse type of articles and as they are not in a position to make a choice of the articles by selecting with their own hands they have no other alternative but to accept the articles which the Shop-keepers offer.

(4) *Miscellaneous*:—The Chamar families of Shrivardhan have made a complaint that there is no accommodation of space for their houses and they have to live in congested and insanitary places. The space that is allotted them is very narrow and so it remains unhygienic and that is why they say that epidemics like Cholera are broken first in their areas.

1. The *Nasikhat* dated 11-5-1937.

The untouchables of the village Varal have complained that the burning-place of the caste Hindus is quite close to their place of residence and thereby they have to suffer a lot of nuisance owing to the burning of the dead bodies at a distance of a few paces from their houses. As a matter of fact, they say that the Caste Hindus have a burning place also at another place but they are obstinate in burning the dead bodies near their houses.

ECONOMIC :

(i) *Uncultivated Land*—Seven Mahar families and six Chamar families have expressed their opinion that they would gain economic independence much earlier if they get waste lands from the Government which are lying uncultivated free or on a very nominal rental fee. The problem is of great importance to them especially to the Mahars who are depending upon agriculture. But they are practically landless and are simply working as agricultural labourers.

(ii) *Debt with low interest*—Twenty-six Mahar families and nineteen Chamar families have suggested that they are under heavy debt with a high rate of interest. They have paid more than twice the amount, as interest and still they are in debt. Thus they will have to remain in debt practically for all their lifetime if their debts are not wiped off and if they do not get the facilities getting debt with low interest.

(iii) *Forced Labour and the Beggar System*—The System of forced labour is wide-spread and deep-rooted in the State, especially in the Khoti Villages, heavy with age and even sanctified by traditions. No doubt the general policy of the state is in favour of removing such oppressing customs as it can be seen that the system of "Weth" (curves) and Nangar Weth were abolished in the year 1883-4 to mark the auspicious occasion of the accession of the late Nawab Saheb.¹ But the system of the forced labour continues anyhow, till to-day. Twenty-one Mahar families have suggested that they had to do forced labour for the Government officials for very little or for no remuneration. The result is that at times they have to suffer economic loss as days after days are wasted in such sort of forced labour. This practice affects not only the Mahars but the other lower communities also. The duties of the Vatandar Mahars are not defined with the result that some times petty officials ask them to render personal services and do such work which has in no way any connection with their official work. They think that such system should be stopped and they should be paid the due remuneration for their extra services.

1. The Janjira Administration Report 1883-84. Page 5.

(iv) *Vatan System* :—Some of the Vatanar Mahars have expressed that they get no remuneration from the Government for their services and they have simply to depend upon the Baluta that they may get from the villagers. So they think that it will be a great boon to them if the Government pays them for their services as it is done in British Districts.

V

CONCLUSION :

We have discussed so far the economic and social conditions of the Untouchables of the Janjira State. Here in this chapter we shall try to coordinate the important topics with regard to their general uplift comparing to my previous study of the Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra of the six Marathi-speaking Districts of the Bombay Presidency.¹

Education :

It must be remembered that educational opportunity is the key to the advance of all the Communities and the Untouchables cannot be an exception to this rule. Naturally the social and economic uplift of these unfortunate classes entirely depend upon the spread of education among them which will alone help to drive their untouchability to a great extent.

The Educational policy of the State is very liberal to everyone irrespective of caste and race. The Primary Educational Department is started in the year 1870² by an establishment of a Marathi Primary school at Murud ; and if we take into consideration the progress that is made during the last sixty years it can be safely said that educational opportunities are open to all the subjects of the State. The late Nawab Sahib was immensely keen in the spread of Education among his subjects and more especially among the Depressed Classes. For instance if we refer to the table No. (10) we can realise that immense progress was made in the matters of Education of these classes in his early part of his reign as the number of school going children was enormously large, even greater than what it is today. He made the Primary Education free to all the classes and in appreciation of this benevolent act a memorial was presented to His Highness in the year 1906 by all the subjects of his State including the untouchables for making the Primary Education free for all the classes.³ In

1. i. a Kolaba, Thana, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Satara and East Khandesh.

2. *Bombay Gazette* Vol. XI Page 459.

3. Janjira Administration Report 1906-8

the address presented to the Governor of Bombay on 17th December 1905 the Nawab Sahab made it clear that it was his desire to see that educational facilities should be open to all his subjects and for that "68 Primary Schools have been opened and a High School is established which imparts Education upto Matric and School Final."¹

But the problem of educational advance among the untouchable classes presents various difficulties, and the most important of them is their poverty. Their earnings are too low as we have seen to provide for the education of their children. The boys are helpful to them in getting small earnings at times and often to do agricultural and domestic work, and as such, some of them are unwilling to send their children to the schools.

Another difficulty in the spread of education among these classes is the general indifference evinced by these classes towards education. Ignorance, of course, is largely responsible for their indifference. They are practically unconscious of the value of education, and hence they have no attraction for it. There is no doubt, some awakening among a few of them, but a majority of them who dwell in the villages, which are scattered far away from the towns have not touched even the fringe of the problem.

But as compared with the Untouchable Classes of the six Districts that I have studied, it can be seen that the Untouchables of the Janjira State are lagging far behind. For instance, there is none from the Untouchable Classes in the Janjira State who has passed any qualifying examination. While in my previous study of the untouchables in the six Districts I have found 29 students who have passed the V.F. examination, 4 have passed the Matriculation Examination and four were taking Higher Education². There are also 76 persons that I have found who are literate in English³, while there are only two persons in the State, that I have found in my survey who can be called literate in English by courtesy. In the questionnaire I had put similar questions about their ideas of progress in matters of their education to the Untouchables of the six Districts, and some have suggested about industrial education, free accommodation in the Government Hostels and facilities for Higher Education, while the untouchables of the Janjira State have not got the slightest idea of such various issues of the problem of their education. Naturally, special

1. Janjira Administration Report 1905-6, p. 3.

2. "The Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra" by the Author, page 10.

3. *Ibid*, page 11.

efforts are necessary to make them to realise the importance of education which is "the evident panacea for all the social disorder."¹

So the great handicap under which these people are labouring is want of consciousness regarding the utility of education. It must be remembered that they have not cultivated a desire for education and special attention is required for making them understand the importance of education in their daily life. There are many difficulties in sending their children to the schools. In some village schools, they are not allowed to mix freely with the children of the other caste Hindus. In some places the teachers are not found much careful about their studies and clean habits, and I have found some cases where these untouchable boys have to spend two or three years to complete the course of one standard, with the result that in spite of spending two or three years in the schools, they get no knowledge of the three Rs. and they are as bad as the other illiterate boys. So, mere provision of the schools in the villages will be never of much use to the uplift of these classes unless they are made to realise the importance of education and they are helped in every way possible to remove the actual difficulties that come in their way in sending their children to the schools. Moreover, special attention is essentially required to see the progress of the untouchable boys in the schools and such cases should be brought immediately to the notice of the higher authorities, where these boys are deliberately neglected by the teachers.

It must be realised that no social progress can be achieved without education, as it is the most powerful leveller against all their disabilities. The influence which education has in raising the status is always remarkably unique and it alone "helps us in understanding all the important and intricate problems that beset our life today and in visualising to a certain extent at least, in its real perspective, what future has in store for us."² Education, therefore, can be taken as the only solution for improving the social status of the untouchables and which will help to change their environment and the circumstances in which they are now living.

Occupations:

It can be seen from the table No. (11) that a majority of the Mahar community are merely agricultural labourers and domestic

1. "Poor Pariah" by Olcott, page 16.

2. H. H. The Nawab Sahab's address at the opening of the Hindu Education Society's Boarding on 23-5-1935.

servants. This is entirely due to their utter economic backwardness and to their general ignorance. If it is compared to my study of the untouchables in Maharashtra, we can see that the economic condition of the untouchables of the State is on average below than their fellow-brothers in Maharashtra.¹ For instance if we look into the table No. 18 of my study "The Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra", we can find that there are twenty-nine teachers of these classes who are working in the Primary Schools. Besides there are eight Carpenters, eight Businessmen and five Cartmen, while from the table No. (11) it can be seen that no persons are carrying such various occupations in the State. As a matter of fact, there are very little opportunities for these people in the State to pursue such honourable professions as they are neither educated nor they have an opportunity of studying skilled labour. There are no facilities for vocational training in the State. The late His Highness had declared, while presenting an address to the Governor of Bombay on 17th December 1905, his intention of starting industrial and technical classes in the State,² and accordingly a carpentry class was opened from 1st August, 1908. "With a view to give stimulus to this branch of Education, the class had been made not only free, but all students attending the class were paid scholarships according to their abilities, varying from one anna to four annas daily." A student was also sent for the weaving course at the Hewett Weaving School at Bara Baki, and under his management a Weaving Class was opened in the year 1912.³ But both these classes seemed to have been stopped after a time. It will be greatly beneficial to these classes if some vocational institutions are opened in the State, or the Primary Education in the rural areas is based upon the vocational and agricultural bias, and some of the untouchable deserving students are given facilities of pursuing the courses, so that after a time some of them may find an opportunity of carrying honourable professions.

As for the chamars, they have their own hereditary occupations of making shoes. But there are various handicaps in their profession. They are not getting sufficient leather as the dead animals are simply thrown away in many villages without taking out the skin. Naturally they have to depend upon the importation

1. Compare table No. 21 page 18 regarding their earnings of "The Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra" to the table No. (18) Page (140) of this study.
2. The Janjira Administration Report 1906-8.
3. The Janjira Administration Report 1912-13.

of leather from Bombay and thereby there is little margin for their profits. Besides, they are not acquainted with modern methods in preparing shoes and several other useful things out of leather. They are carrying on, their crude methods and thus it goes difficult for them to have any reasonable return from their occupation.

Indebtedness:

One of the main reasons that I have found for their perpetual indebtedness is proportionately the heavy expenditure that these people incur on marriage purposes. As a general rule, they have got no surplus from the past and thus they are not in a position to meet such occasional calls of social obligations. Naturally these people have to go to sowcars for debts for such unproductive purposes. But they are landless and as such, they have no security to offer except pledging their labour to the sowcar for a number of years and if once they are entangled in dealings of such nature, they are bound to continue to be indebted to their sowcars for a greater part of their lives and even though they are freed after a period of ten to fifteen years, their sons by that time become of such age as to keep them in service and on pledging their labour these people get more sum either for their sons' and daughters' marriages, or for such other social purposes. Thus the vicious circle goes on, with no ending.

This system cannot be exactly called the serfdom, for a serf means "a slave attached to the soil and sold with it." Here they are not necessarily attached to the soil or sold with it, but they make a contract to serve for a certain number of years in return of money taken in advance. They are at full liberty, to leave their masters by liquidating their debts. But somehow it so happens that they do not get freed from the debts practically for a major part of their lives. So "virtually there is no difference between the position of these people and the slaves of the American Plantations, prior to the Civil war, except that the Courts would not recognise the rights of the masters as absolute over persons and services. But in this country where—more probably than in others—the rich have a better chance in the Courts than the poor, this difference diminishes in importance¹." Thus it can be described the situation by saying that these people are free men *de jure* but serfs *de facto*. It is no doubt true that they have realised the evils of this system. But so long as these people are in want of money, especially for the marriages of their sons and daughters, and so long as they will have

1. Sedwick's Census Report 1921 - page 230.

no surplus of their own, and as they have no facilities to borrow on co-operative system either from the village co-operative Societies, which are not existing in the State, or from such any other source, or so long they do not refrain from spending more than their capacities on marriage expenses, and so long this system of pledging labour is not put to stop, or modified in the interest of these people by some legal enactment, this sort of "quasi-serfdom" will remain with all its demerits.

Wells :

The question of wells is the most important and also the most difficult to solve. Nowhere I have found in my both the studies a common well used by the touchables and the untouchables. Among the untouchables themselves, a common well is not used as it can be seen from the Maxgaon Village, where the Chamars have a well, in good condition, but they do not allow the Mahars to take water from it, nor the Mahars are willing to do so. They have a dowers which is in very much insanitary condition and it becomes dry in the summer. In such cases, the problem of finding potable water becomes of intense difficulty especially during the summer season, when in some villages there is a great scarcity of water. They have to wait for the charitable person to draw water and pour into their pots; or they have to pay or to give some fire-wood as it is done in the Usroli Village. Thus it can be seen that these people have to suffer intensely on account of scarcity of water. This is really a serious handicap in their way of living a cleaner life, and has really a bad effect upon their health and efficiency. It also involves sometimes economic loss as we have seen it requires great amount of time in getting water or they have to pay for it. It is essential that they must be made to appreciate a cleaner mode of life, and this will be done only when there is sufficient provision of water for daily use. Thus, if the Government and the Local Bodies look into this primary need of the untouchables of getting water, it will be highly helpful to drive away the vicious taint of untouchability.

Conclusion :

Thus, to sum up, it is highly essential in order to eradicate untouchability from the society, that the efforts should be made on all sides to concentrate upon the primary object of securing full civic rights for them, as the right of sending children to the public schools, without any discrimination being exercised against them or the right of drawing water from the public wells if they have no wells in good conditions. This will help these classes to appreciate a cleaner or more moral mode of life. It must be also

seen that these people get access freely to all the public institutions such as the Schools, Dharmashalas, Ferry-boats, Markets, Dispensaries, Government Offices, Public Water Taps, Hotels, and all such public and semi-public institutions which are maintained under the direct supervision of the Government, or over which the Government can exercise its authority. In the village schools there must be an attempt made by the Primary School Authorities that in addition to the knowledge of simply three Rs, there must be created opportunities of imparting discourses on the proper ideals of life, on cleanliness, and opportunities should be created and handled in such a way, that these classes come in immediate contact with ideas of better and cleaner ways of life, which will help to effect a change in their social environment. It will be also beneficial if the Primary Educational Authorities take special care of the untouchable boys regarding their studies, cleanliness, manners, their difficulties in attending the schools, the treatment they get at the hands of the teachers and other fellow-students, and all such allied topics, as it will be immensely helpful in driving the ugly ideas about untouchability from the minds of the younger generation, as well as from the older one.

Another way of helping to drive the notions about untouchability from the society, will be by employing some of the suitable candidates from these classes in Government menial services, such as the peons, the pattawals in the Taluka Revenue Offices, Polls, Forest Guards etc., whereby these people will be in direct contact with the public, while carrying the Government duties and thereby the caste-Hindus, after a time, will not attach any importance to the ideas of untouchability. There is also a necessity of nominating representatives from these classes to the Local Bodies as they will get an opportunity to ventilate their grievances that might exist in any corner of the State. But the sure way of improving the lot of these unfortunate classes will be by establishing temporarily a separate department to look into their affairs, like the Backward Class Office of the Bombay or the Madras Presidency.

There are no two opinions that untouchability is the worst type of social ostracism and it must be driven, from the society as soon as possible. No doubt the untouchables themselves are getting conscious of their taint and they are also mobilising their forces against it as it can be seen from several instances, happening in the State, such as the incident at Torada in Mhasla Taluka.¹ But it is the sacred duty of the Government,

1. The "Dhanurdhari" dated 27-11-1927.

and as well as of the Caste-Hindus, to get rid of untouchability from the society. For that, special efforts must be done. Along with the Government efforts in the direction suggested above, if a branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangha is started in the State, in order to create favourable atmosphere by educating the masses and doing useful propaganda, as it is doing in several other States, it can be easily prophesied that untouchability will be on its last legs and will die out within a very short period.¹

M. G. BHAGAT.



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Reviews

Poverty and Population in India by D. G. Karve (Oxford University Press) 1936.

Principal Karve's work is the latest addition to a series of studies on the Indian Population Question which are growing in number and interest. But it is the first study of the subject which attempts a statistical presentation of the relation between the growth of production and of population in the country; as such, it brings a new realistic note to the whole problem and is therefore a very welcome addition to the literature of Indian economics.

Principal Karve's thesis may be briefly summarised thus:

A survey of the net increase in India's population during the last three decades does not compare unfavourably with that of the population of other countries. In fact, during the last three decades ending with 1931 the population of British India has recorded an increase of only 17% as compared with 23% for England and Wales. The rise in India's population therefore is not so startling or tremendous as is implied by some writers. Nor is it true to assert that the economic condition of the people has worsened *pari passu* with the increase of population, let alone, because of the increase in population. A study of the basic facts of the movement of population in India gives conclusive evidence to show that there has been a slight improvement in the situation and that certainly there has been no decline. Thus *e.g.* the rate of infant mortality has fallen from 204 per 1000 in 1911-15 to 178 per 1000 in 1916-30; the average expectation of life has increased from 23.67 for males in 1881 to 26.91 in 1931; while the percentage of the total population resident in urban areas has risen from 9.9 in 1901 to 11.0 in 1931. Of course, the situation is far from being pleasing; and needs a great deal of improvement; but that is no reason to assert that it has worsened in any absolute sense.

The movement of production is then compared with that of population; and the conclusion is drawn that production in all branches of economic activity has increased faster than population. Thus *e.g.* we are told that in respect of agriculture, though the area under cultivation increased only by 11% the qualitative determinant of agricultural production *viz.* the area under irrigation

increased by as much as 45%; while the area under commercial crops—the more paying part of the agricultural industry—increased by as much as 37%. There is therefore no reason to believe that agricultural production has at any rate increased at a pace lower than that of population increase. For mining and manufacturing industries, comprehensive data are not available; but as indicative of the trends, the author gives the following indices.

	1901-05	1928-29
Production of cotton mills	100	156

For coal, manganese, petroleum, figures of production are given only for individual years and not for quinquennial periods.

	1900	1930
Coal	100	400
Manganese	100	823
Petroleum	100	818
Workers in organised industries	100	248

Obviously the movements in these groups indicate a much larger increase than in population. Indices of trade activity confirm the trends revealed by the statistics of mining and manufacture.

	1901	1929
Weight of goods carried on Railways. ...	100	202
Value of coastal trade (adjusted for price changes) ...	100	124
Value of foreign trade (adjusted for price changes) ...	100	168

In further support of the same thesis are drawn the following indices of financial activity in the country.

	1900	1929
Balance of deposits in Savings Banks & Postal Cash certificates. ...	100	720
Private deposits with the Presidency Banks and the Imperial Bank of India ...	100	554
Paid up capital of joint stock companies. ...	100	767

The three indices of Agriculture, Industry and Trade are now combined into a combined index of national production, the three branches of productive activity being given weights on the basis of the percentage of population that at several years is estimated to

have been employed in that occupation; and the following are the results of the elaborate statistical calculations which form the main contribution of this essay.

Period	Index of production	Index of population	Index of production adjusted to that of population
1901-05	100	100	100
1906-10	106	105	101
1911-15	132	106	125
1916-20	142	106	135
1921-25	144	112	129
1926-30	157	117	134

The conclusion of the essay may now be stated in the author's own words. "We might therefore take it as proved, in so far as facts statistically ascertained can prove anything, that the population in India during the last thirty years has not grown and is not growing faster than the wealth or the production of the nation." It is therefore urged that the nation's attention should be concentrated not on the dangers of increase in population but should be directed to the need for increasing production. "Even if the population of the country is rendered stationary or is actually reduced, so long as our industrial efficiency and social organisation are what they are no real relief can be secured". But the author is not unaware of the dangers of unrestricted increase in population. He is not against the use of birth control, but he would like it to come as a part of the changed attitude to life on the part of the people. "Birth restriction devoid of the rational feeling of self-reliance and self-regulation is not a sign of growing civilization but one of barbarity." The situation can be remedied only by the pushing forward of the cause of intellectual and social reformation. "Whether the people of this country, whatever their number might be, will enjoy the blessings of a progressive and prosperous life will depend upon the prospects of a nation-wide reformation in our religious, cultural and psychological ideas. Both the progress of industry and the more conscious limitation of families will follow in strict measure the realization of progressiveness and purposeful action in our conduct."

It is difficult to disagree or criticise a writer who ends on such a fundamentally rational note. Let me state at once that with the two main conclusions of Principal Karve's book, I am in more or less complete agreement. My own researches into the

growth of Indian Income have convinced me that the per capita income is certainly not declining particularly over the last three decades; I also agree that mere mechanical limitation of numbers will not materially improve the situation. Our main economic problem is one of increasing our production and for this the cultivation of the rational attitude to life which Principal Karve advocates is certainly a great help. Having indicated my agreement with the main lines of his thesis, I may now briefly note one or two points of detail at which I do not agree with the learned author's conclusion.

I think the actual increase in the nation's production during the period 1900-30 will be less than 57% and Principal Karve will not have arrived at the conclusion of an increase of 57% but for certain faults of omission and commission in his calculations. The index of agricultural production contained in Table 35-B is based on the yield of 128 million acres (if we take the year 1929-30) which is just half of the total area under cultivation. There is no certainty that the produce of the remaining area has increased in the same proportion. It is certain that the production of Bajra has not shown the same rate of increase, and it occupied 14.25 million acres in the quinquennium 1926-30. The increase in the production of the other food crops, and of some of the oil seeds has also not been of the measure of 44%. I should therefore suggest that the real index of agricultural production would show a somewhat smaller rate of increase than that given in Table 35-B. I may also point out that no reference has been made at all to the output of milk and other products of the livestock industry; and this may make a further difference to the index of agricultural production.

The index of industrial production, given in Table 28, is a much more unrepresentative figure. No reference is made to handicrafts the output of which during this period certainly cannot have shown a rise of 135%; moreover handicrafts gave occupation to a population several times the size of that which found employment in the organized industrial establishments. The index of industrial production which forms part of the basis for Principal Karve's index of national production is therefore very much of an overestimate.

As for the index of trade, the figure shows an increase of 59% mainly because of the index for goods carried by railway showing a rise of 102%. But whereas the indices for total foreign trade and total coasting trade are based on value figures adjusted for price changes, that for goods carried by railway is based on the ton-weight

of goods carried by railway, without making allowance for any changes which may have taken place in its composition. The last item would naturally show a larger rise, if the proportion of heavier goods has risen in the meanwhile; and in any case it is not strictly comparable with the other two indices of trade. Moreover a part of the increase in railway goods traffic may have been at the expense of other forms of inland transport; and the real index of internal trade may show a smaller rise than the index for goods carried by railway. It is likely therefore that the composite index for trade may show a smaller rise than the 59% mentioned in Table 40.

I conclude therefore that the rise shown by each of the indices for Agriculture, Industry and Trade contain elements of over-estimation; and that therefore the rise shown by the composite index for national production which is based on these 3 items also contains elements of overestimation. Therefore the figure of 57% which is claimed by Principal Karve as the extent of the rise in national production during the period 1901-29 is an overestimate; and production has not increased as fast as it is claimed to have done; but I still believe that the rise must be more than 17% *i.e.* production has not lagged behind population, though it certainly has not gone very much ahead of it.

To the extent that the rise in production is even smaller than that postulated by the author, I think the case for restriction of numbers gains in strength. I agree that mechanical restriction of numbers is not desirable and also that mere restriction will not solve the problem of Indian poverty. But I do believe that if the fruits of increased production are to be translated into a better and securer standard of life for the mass of the population, restriction of numbers would be an essential condition. I do not suppose Principal Karve would disagree but some of his unwary readers may be misled by his vigorous emphasis on the side of production and may draw false conclusions regarding the question of numbers in India; hence my warning.

I cannot conclude this review without giving expression to the sheer joy which the reading of this book gave me. For lucidity of exposition, clarity of expression and neatness in the arrangement of data, few books on Indian economics can claim to rival the book under review. Principal Karve's work on "Poverty and Population in India" is a most stimulating book to read; and no student or publicist interested in India's economic problems can afford to miss it.

V. K. R. V. RAO

The Social Process (in the light of a century of Sociology)—R. R. Kale Memorial Lecture 1938 by G. S. Ghurye, Ph. D. (Cantab.)

The lecturer begins by stressing the phenomenon of change and making it clear, that his view of society is the one called dynamic or functional. This fact is also made clear by the title of the lecture. The social process is conceived firstly as ideas about man as a living entity, and also as the process by which the individual is assimilated in a particular culture complex. Before proceeding to take stock of the thought of the last century from Comte upto date, Dr. Ghurye shows that there was no science of society before Comte. He then makes a rapid survey of different ages and civilizations including the Vedic age of India, the Greek thinkers from Protagoras to Aristotle and the Middle Ages, bringing the story to the German Philosophers of the 19th century. He asserts, that whatever was written about the being and destiny of humanity was mere barren speculation as it was a purely intellectual and *a priori* structure not founded on observation of empirical facts relating to the being and doing of individuals and society. In the second place the work was vitiated by ethical and political considerations.

After the Middle Ages European philosophers expended much thought on the origin of human society and the place of the individual in it, but it was left to Auguste Comte, the founder of modern sociology, to lift the whole problem from the realm of speculation to that of the empirical descriptive sciences. The biologists like Darwin fixed the place of man in a continuous stream of life forms. Then came the psychologists like James and Shand who made clear the working of the mind, individually and socially; and thus we reach the second aspect of the social process, the adjustment of the individual to Social Institutions.

The one social institution, which permeates the individual life and moulds it is the institution of marriage and family. Genetics is playing a very important role in the theories of social good and generally of social values. From the considerations of the endogamous marriages of Hindu society Dr. Ghurye reaches the conclusion, that the restriction of caste has proved dysgenic in the past because men and women of outstanding merit had to seek their mates within the caste, which was not always able to provide them with mates of equal distinction. It would be better therefore if there were marriages of gifted individuals without regard to caste distinctions so as to build ultimately in a given society a solid block of eugenically sound intermarrying and interconnected families. Dr. Ghurye ends by an exhortation that marriage should

primarily be looked upon "as a union between biologically and psychologically compatible mates having no concern with status, either economic or social".

In this admirable survey of the history of sociology Dr. Ghurye is rather hard on the ancients and charges them with indulging in barren speculations instead of observing the dynamics of human society. He cites the ancient philosophies of India and Greece in support of this assertion. But the modern philosophers have not been able to build philosophies which are less abstract than those of the ancients. It is the essence of metaphysical thought, that it deals with the abstract and the conceptual rather than with the concrete and the empirical. The ancients have proved themselves to be keen scientists and not just artists in life, as Dr. Ghurye hints, in aspects of thought other than philosophical. I need but cite the *Niṣā* literature of ancient India, which as an investigation into certain aspects of social life, is a model of clear, empirical reasoning.

There seems to be a certain confusion about the dates of Darwin and Spencer. Dr. Ghurye writes: "Comte, and more so Spencer, were no doubt evolutionists but they were philosopher-evolutionists. They were corrected and substantiated by Charles Darwin, who worked for the first time in the history of thought, on scientific lines to solve the problem of origins, especially the origin of man and his species". (P. 14-15). This passage suggests, that evolution as a scientific hypothesis was promulgated after Spencer's writings. The dates of different publications however give the priority to the biologists Darwin and Huxley and not to Spencer. One may see an idea of evolutionary processes in Hegel's theory of social progress in three stages of thesis, antithesis and synthesis; but the hypothesis of evolution was first clearly enunciated by Darwin and applied to human beings by Huxley. Darwin's "Origin of Species" appeared in 1859, "Descent of Man" in 1871; Huxley's "Evidence as to Man's place in Nature" appeared in 1863 and all of Spencer's books were published from 1871 to 1896. This process of borrowing biological concepts to explain social phenomena has been going on since Darwin's days upto the present time.

Dr. Ghurye rightly emphasizes the social aspect of the institution of marriage as a contact between two families, leading to the creation of a sympathetic social environment for the growth of the new generation. But it seems almost ironical that on eugenical grounds he should be led to define the ideal marriage as a union between biologically and psychologically compatible mates, having no concern with status either economic or social. Does not

biological and psychological compatibility involve more than just outstanding ability of the two individuals without context of their families and all that these families stand for in a historically evolved society? I think the eugenical and the sociological concepts of marriage need a thorough investigation as to whether they can be combined in one compatible system and for this task no person is better suited than the lecturer, so keenly aware of the involved social relations in India as also of the necessity for eugenic considerations in the population policy of the future.

IRAWATI KARVÉ.

Urban Handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan by N. M. Joshi, M.A.
(Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics)

In the sphere of economics, as in any other, a sense of proportion is a great quality. In these days of haste and hustle, only activities organised on large-scale attract our attention; and even men setting forth for investigation and research are not immune from this danger. We are, however, gradually becoming alive to things and activities which though insignificant in their isolated existence, affect the life and living of a section of human population. Mr. Joshi has done well in taking up a problem which has been neglected for long due to its apparent insignificance. The handicraft industry was given up as one which, if not already dead and dying, deserved to die. We, however, forget that it provides a living, however inadequate, to more persons than are provided by the large-scale machine industries.

Mr. Joshi prefaces his study with an excellent chapter on the theoretical aspects of handicraft economics. The section on the Indian handicrafts is full of interest to the student of economic history. The author has not merely confined himself to the political causes of the decay of the handicrafts, but makes an important contribution to the study of the structure and organisation of the industries prior to the factory stage in India. Subsequent chapters contain a careful and patient collection of data pertaining to all the important aspects of the handicrafts in the urban areas of the Bombay Deccan.

The survey runs over a period of more than 50 years, from 1880 to the present day. The past history of the industry is useful in assessing the conditions which are essential for industry to flourish. The causes of the decay of the handicrafts are partly political and partly economic. The interests of the Imperial Economy and the Industrial Revolution, which harnessed mechanical power to the processes of production, making other processes

obsolete and uneconomic, combined in killing the handicraft industries in India.

The study is confined to the handicrafts in textile, metal, leather, paper and calico printing. The author has examined their past history, their present distribution, the method of their organisations for production and marketing. Though the picture is full of a confusing array of small details, he has succeeded in giving us a definite impression of the position of each industry. One can perceive in it the pathetic and tenacious adherence of many an artisan to his traditional types and modes of production. The competition of giant machines has driven him to the wall, but from his narrow corner he still manages to eke out a precarious living by catering to the caprice of many a conservative and aesthetic consumer. The increasing elimination of the independent artisan, who mainly conducted the industry in the past; and his replacement by petty capitalist *Karkhandars*, who have reduced the former to a position of a wage earner, is a significant commentary on the trends in the present economic system. The indebtedness of the artisans and the dominance of the local dealers in raw materials and finished goods tell us that there is little or no margin of profit in the industry for the primary producer.

The most vital point in the handicraft economics is the problem of relation and adjustment of the industry with the large-scale machine industry in the same line of production. Mr. Joshi's study proves that there is still a scope for both these types of technique to exist side by side. The problem is to make the two complementary instead of competitive. The demarcation can be both in the types of production and the processes of production in other words, it can be both horizontal and vertical. In the former, certain artistic and predominantly local requirements,—*e.g.* shalms from Yeola and the foot-ware from Poona and Ahmednagar—may be entirely left to the handicrafts. In the latter, such an exclusive allotment can be suggested only after a careful analysis of processes involved in different industries.

Mr. Joshi's study is comprehensive and minute, and enables one to detect easily the weaker spots in the structure of the handicraft industries. In the final chapter on the reconstruction of the handicrafts, he has suggested various big and small improvements, which would be read with great interest by those interested in the subject. Mr. Joshi's book is quite up to the high standard established by the publications of the Gokhale Institute and further adds to their reputation.

M. L. DANTWALA

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES:

	PAGE
RARE FIGURES OF VINU FROM GUJARAT ... H. D. SANKALIA ...	3
FOLK-SONGS FROM MALWA ... G. R. PRADHAN ...	8
RABARIS OF KATHIAWAR (A Social Study) ... B. L. MANKAD ...	31
GROWTH OF THE CIVIC IDEA ... PRATAPAGIRI ...	80
IMPRESSIONS OF WORLD AGRICULTURE ... V. G. GOKHALE ...	89
THE GROWTH OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ... G. RAGHAVA RAO ...	98

REVIEWS:

PRINCIPLES OF GENERAL GEOGRAPHY ...	118
PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT ...	119
ELEMENTARY ECONOMICS ...	120
ELEMENTS OF ECONOMICS AND CIVICS ...	120

BOOKS RECEIVED:

... ..	122
--------	-----

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

... ..	123
--------	-----

EXCHANGES:

... ..	124
--------	-----



RARE FIGURES OF VISNU FROM GUJARAT

Figures of the different *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, and figures of Viṣṇu with four hands, called *bhoga-āsana-mūrti* and so forth are found in books on sculpture and iconography. But only a few figures of the "24 forms of Viṣṇu"¹ (*caturvīṃśati mūrtayaḥ*), known as Puruṣottama, Nṛsiṃha etc., after the position of emblems held in 4 hands, are illustrated, while figures of Viṣṇu known as Ananta, Viśvarūpa etc., though described by Gopinath Rao² from Sanskrit texts are not, to my knowledge, yet illustrated anywhere.

While touring Gujarat and Kathiawar in search of their antiquities I noticed some figures of Viṣṇu at Sanders,³ one in the museum at Rajkot, and some I found in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which from their iconographical features may be identified with some of the figures of Viṣṇu mentioned above.

In the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay there are figures of Viṣṇu of both the classes—"24 Forms" and Ananta-Viśvarūpa class. I will first take the figures belonging to the "24 Forms" class.

There are three figures,⁴ all carved on one panel 2' 8" × 1' 7" × 8" of reddish sand-stone, which evidently formed originally part of a parapet wall perhaps of a Viṣṇu temple at Talpur, Kaira District (from where the panel was found). Each figure is about 8" × 11" × 2" and is placed between two ringed-pilasters, crowned by an abacus, ornamented with a deeply indented leaf-design. All the three figures stand in *samabhariga* (erect) pose, have two attendants, one on either side, and are characterised by an identical head-dress and jewellery. The only distinguishing marks are the positions of the four symbols mentioned above.

1. See Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 227-33, Pls. LXX-XXI; Bidyabīnōd, *Memoir Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 2, pp. 23-33, pls. VII-VIII; cf. his remarks on p. 33.
2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 256-58.
3. Near Patan, in N. Gujarat.
4. See Pl. I. I am grateful to Mr. G. V. Acharya, Curator of the Archaeological Section and to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for kindly allowing me to photograph and publish these figures.

The first figure, from the right, has in its :

- lower right hand *cakra*.
- upper right hand *padma*.
- upper left hand *śaṅkha*.
- lower left hand *padā*.

The second or the middle figure has, in the above order, *padma*, *padā*, *śaṅkha*, and in the lower left hand which is now broken, must have held a *cakra*.

The remaining figure carries *padma*, *cakra*, *śaṅkha*, and *padā* respectively.

The first two figures correspond to the descriptions of Viṣṇu as Puruṣottama and Adhokṣaḥ, mentioned in the *Padmapurāṇa*, *Rūpamaṇḍana*¹ and in the *Agnipurāṇa*.² The third figure may be identified with Vamadeva according to the *Padmapurāṇa*³ and with Janārdana according to the *Rūpamaṇḍana*⁴ and *Agnipurāṇa*.⁵

A label on the panel assigns these sculptures to the 15th century, but on considering the features of the face, the form of the *mukuta* of the figures, the style of the pilasters (which resemble those of the composite figure of Viṣṇu in the Limboji Mata temple at Deimal,⁶ which is not later than the 12th or 13th century) and the figures of Viṣṇu from Northern Gujarat discussed below, these figures should not be dated later than the 13th century.

Taking now the figures belonging to the Ananta-Viśvarūpa class I first describe the figures from Sanders.⁷ It is carved in white marble (probably from Chandravati, near Palanpur), and

1. Rao, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 232.

2. Bīdyabīnod, *op. cit.*, p. 25; also Hemādri, *Vṛstakhaṇḍa* cited in *ibid.*

3. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

4. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 230; Bīdyabīnod, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

5. Also Hemādri, cf. Bīdyabīnod, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 and 26.

6. In N. Gujarat, see Burgess, *Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, Archaeological Survey Western India, Vol. IX, p. 87; pl. LXIX.

7. See Pl. II. It was lying with a similar figure in a dust-heap opposite the modern Viṣṇu temple, a few yards to the left of the small, early medieval temple described by Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 108. Both the figures are relegated to this place as *bhagnamūrtis* (broken images), which were evidently installed in the earlier temple on the site. I was allowed to carry with me the figure here described and it is now exhibited in the gallery of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay. I am obliged to Rev. Father Heraas, S.J., for allowing me to photograph and publish it.

is about 2.4' in height, 1.4' in breadth and 7' in thickness. Viṣṇu is seated on his *vāhana* (Garuḍa which is shown here in a human form, bearded, with a head-dress marked with vertical stroke, and with a thick band of cloth tied round its waist).

On either side of the legs of Viṣṇu is a small kneeling worshipper, one facing to the right and the other to the left. Behind these figures, on each side, is seated a small figure in *ardha-padmasana*, with the left or the right hand (according as the figure is seated on the right or left of Viṣṇu) on the chest, holding some object.¹

Behind Viṣṇu is the *prabhāvatī*. On its either side are carved 4 figures in low relief, which look like attendants, except the one on the top right which is similar to the seated figure just described. Right on the crest of the *prabhāvatī* is a figure of Viṣṇu, with four hands seated inside a niche.

Striking, however, is the number of hands of Viṣṇu and the position of his two proper hands. The former is twenty—perhaps the largest number of hands associated with Viṣṇu either in sculpture or in texts. The two proper hands are held in *dhyāna* or *yogamudrā*. Of the remaining 18 hands, the 9 on the right (beginning from below) are held or carry the following symbols.

- 1 is held in *varadamudrā* and also carries perhaps a *mālā* (rosary),
- 2 holds a *śakra*,
- 3 has its symbol broken, but it seems to have been a citron fruit,
- 4 „ a *vajra*,
- 5 „ a *bāṇa*,
- 6 „ a *padā*,
- 7 „ a *pāśa*,
- 8 „ a *khadga*,
- 9 is held in *abhaya mudrā*.

The corresponding left hands hold a *kamapāśa*, *śarīṅga*, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 seem to hold a *dharmā* with three bands,² 8 a *śheṭaka*, 9 is held in *abhaya mudrā*.

Now, four figures of Viṣṇu with more than 4 hands are known.³ They are *Vaikuṇṭha*, *Ananta*, *Treīlokyamohana* and

1. Most probably it is nothing but the right hand held in *spāṭhāpārasamudrā* (preaching pose).
2. Cf. Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 8, pl. II.
3. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 258-59.

Viśvarūpa. Each of these have 4 faces and 8, 12, 16, and 18 hands respectively. Only the last two have two of their proper hands in *yogamudrā*.

The figure under discussion, though it does not possess 4 faces, has, nevertheless, 20 hands and 2 of them are in *yogamudrā*, and it may, therefore, be called a variety of Trailokyamohana or Viśvarūpa form of Viṣṇu.

The figure from the Rājkot Museum¹ is also made of white marble and is identical not only in general iconographical features, but also in the respective positions of the different symbols and in the shape of the *mukhāṭa* and facial expression of Viṣṇu with that of the Sanders figure that undoubtedly they are of the same date and provenance. With regard to the former, they are to be assigned to the 12th or 13th century as they are reminiscent, in stylistic and iconographical features, of the composite figure of Viṣṇu at Dehnai,² N. Gujerāt.

The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay possesses two figures of this variety of Viṣṇu. Both are said to have been found at Taibpur, Kaira Dist., (though on the evidence of the nature of the stone used and the features of the face, they seem to be from different localities and positively of two different periods). Both form part of two panels; each $2.8' \times 1.6' \times 8''$ and $2.10' \times 1.3' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ respectively, which originally belonged to the pampet wall of a temple.³

The first figure,⁴ astride on Garuḍa, is sculptured between two ringed-pilasters. It has 10 hands. The two proper hands are in *yogamudrā*. Of the rest, the 4 hands on the right, beginning with the lower right, are 1 in *varadamudrā*, 2 and 3 hold a *khadga* and a *cakra* respectively, 4 is in *abhaya mudrā*. Those on the left have in the above order a *kaṇṇaḍālu*, a round, citron-like object which is half broken, *gadā*, and the 4th hand is held in *abhaya mudrā*. Iconographically it seems to be a variety of Trailokyamohana or Viśvarūpa, while stylistically, though the figure is reported to belong to the Kaira Dist., that is, outside the

1. See Pl. III. Here I must acknowledge my gratefulness to Mr. Jayantilal, Hon. Secretary, who has kindly allowed me to photograph and publish the image.

2. Burgess, op. cit., pl. LXIX.

3. On comparing the thickness of the two panels, one 8'' and the other $2\frac{1}{2}''$ it is evident that they come from two different temples; the former perhaps from an earlier temple, the latter from a later temple.

4. See Pl. IV.



FORMS OF VIṢṆU: (*from right to left*)

PURUṢOTTAMA, ADHOKṢAJA AND VĀSUDEVA OR JANĀRDANA. C. 1200 A.D.

Courtesy: P. W. M., Bombay

From Talpur, Kaira Dist.



TRAILOKYAMOHANA OR VIŚVABŪPA
FORM OF VIṢṆU. C. 1100-1200 A.D.

From Sanlora, N. Gujarat



TRAILOKYAMOHANA OR VIŚVABŪPA
FORM OF VIṢṆU. C. 1100-1200 A.D.



GAṆEŚA, VĪMAṆA (?) AND VIṢṆU

AS TRILOKYAMOHANA OR VIŚVARŪPA. C. 1300 A.D.

Courtesy: P. W. M., Bombay

From Talpūr, Kaira Dist.



TRILOKYAMOHANA OR VIŚVARŪPA

FORM OF VIṢṆU AND HIS CONSORT. C. 1400 A.D.

Courtesy: P. W. M., Bombay

From Talpūr, Kaira Dist.

Saraswati Valley,³ still it betrays affinities with the figures from N. Gujarat and may be dated in the 14th century.

The other figure⁴ is similar to the above in pose and in the number of hands it has. But it is dissimilar from it because the position of some of the symbols is different, and has a different kind of *mukuta* and facial features. The two proper hands are in *yoganudrā*, (observe that the manner of showing it is also different); while the remaining 4 hands on the right are: 1 in *varadamudrā*, 2, 3 and 4 carry respectively a *cakra*, *gadā* and *khadga*; those on the left 1 a *kamandala*, 2 a round, *śaṅkha*-like object, 3 a *daṇḍa*-like object, 4 a *śheṭaka*.

This figure also seems to be a type of Trailokyamohana or Viśvarūpa form of Viṣṇu. But in point of time, on stylistic grounds, it is at least a century later than the similar figures noticed above.

The figures of Trailokyamohana or Viśvarūpa here discussed show one peculiarity. All carry the *kamandala* in the lowest left hand. (This is so because not only it is easy to portray a *kamandala* in the lower hand, which is hanging down, but *bhikṣu*s also carry it similarly,) whereas it is always the lowest right hand that is in *varadamudrā*, and the back or the upper hands which are in *abhaya mudrā* or carry a drawn out sword. This shows that inspite of a multiplicity of hands the sculptors have tried to portray natural attitudes as far as the rigid canons of iconography have allowed them to do so.

H. D. SANKALIA.

3. The home of the Cālukyas (or Solankis) of Gujarat. Many 11th-13th century temples are found here.

4. See Pl. V. The other figure in the photograph is Viṣṇu's consort.

FOLK-SONGS FROM MALWA

In January 1938 I visited some places in Malwa in connection with some cultural research. In the course of my tour I could secure a few *Malwa* songs which I propose to deal with in this paper. I have given their literal translation into English as far as possible along with their rendering into the Roman characters.

The folk-song is a song i.e. a lyric poem with melody,¹ authorship of which is generally anonymous and even the period of its origin cannot be definitely known; sometimes it may even be a few centuries old. It is also defined as a popular song among the illiterate people but it is, indeed, surprising to find how it passes from man to man, nay, from generation to generation among these unlettered folks. As these songs are not written, and even if they are, as the most of the people, among whom these songs find their place, are not able to read and write, a fact too true at any rate in India, repetition of the songs is the only means to preserve them. Those, who have heard *puwadās* etc. from the few survivors of the old Indian ballad singers and have seen how these singers retain in their memory a song almost after its first recital, would bear me out if a generalised statement is made that the most of the illiterate people retain a song in their memory if it is in their language and recited and repeated in their presence. Though it is not possible to say about the changes which a song undergoes during the course of this transmission in the absence of any recording of a song during different times, one has to admit that it does undergo some change during the passage from one generation to another. A folk-song, therefore, is neither new nor old because it is continually taking on new life. It evolves gradually as it passes through the minds of different men and through different generations.²

A. H. Krappe³ has remarked that a folk-song is a lyric in character, and is intensely subjective. It treats its theme with a great deal of seriousness; it is emphatic, sometimes childishly so. It lacks the finer shades of feeling, and its colours are usually somewhat harsh, as indeed they are in pleasant craft. Its general

1. Krappe, A.H. *The Science of Folk-Lore*, (1930), p. 153.

2. *Ency. Brit.*, vol. (IX), p. 443, ed. 14th

3. *op. cit.* p. 156.

temper is not gaiety—at least not gaiety of the light hearted sort. Many folk-songs are in fact melodramatic; over others there hovers an atmosphere, if not of tragedy, at least of life's hardness and even of bitterness. The folk-song is highly emotional, sometimes even sentimental but the emotions are simple, there is no question of 'problems,' of 'conflicts,' let alone searching self-analysis or even introduction. But application of such standards or even inventing new ones for our folk-songs must await for sometime more, till at least, we have a sufficiently good number of them to arrive at such standards.

Collection of folk-songs should be a hobby of a research worker and it is a great relief to see that in our country also, though from very recently, people are directing their attention to this important source of knowing the cultural development of a community. As literacy is not wide in our country and because our country consists of thousands of villages, with many castes and sub-castes having numerous rites, rituals and customs with a few songs specially meant for each single occasion, there is a very fertile ground to a research worker. These songs are generally sung in chorus by the womenfolk. Subject matter of these songs is as varied as are the occasions. Just as there are songs to be demonstrated on different festivals, there are also many songs to celebrate the occasions like betrothals, marriages, pregnancy, child-births, etc.

Due to the modern methods of communication in the absence of any recording of the folk-songs in the past, a great difficulty is felt in locating the birth place of a particular song and this difficulty would be greater if an attempt is not made to record the songs as we get them. And the achievement of our people would either disappear or lose its importance. Also their importance from the cultural point of view would either be confounded or even compromised. Owing to the reasons mentioned above songs of one village, district or even of province might merge into those of other, thus a concrete source of great sociological importance of knowing the cultural development of a particular caste, village or of province would receive a severe handicap. This was at least the writer's experience when he collected a few songs from the Mahars residing in Bombay. It was then found that the people from whom the songs were taken could not say at what place a particular song was in vogue.

Before dealing with the songs of Malwa I submit that it is not for a research worker to discard a particular song because it is

1. Pradhan, G. R., *Untouchable Workers of Bombay City*. (1938)

against the current moral canons or because it does not satisfy some literary standards. His only duty is to record them as he got them, nor is it for him to use the proverbial blue pencil of that omniscient personality—the editor. This fact I want to emphasize because I had an opportunity to discuss about the folk-songs with an official who was asked to collect them from the districts under him. This gentleman told the writer that quite a good number of folk-songs were collected but as the most of them were either vulgar, or too rustic, or unpoetic or had ‘nothing in them’ they had to be discarded. Herein lies, I submit, the speciality of a research worker and the difference between him and the official who is ‘forced’ to do this cumbersome and odd job.

The following 23 songs were collected in Dhar, an ancient place of great historical importance. Out of these songs *Darjia* contributed 10 songs, *Lodhas* 8, and *Maha* 5. My informants asked a few women-folk of their castes to recite a few songs which while being recited, were taken down. After having completely taken down they were again recited by the informants before the women and thus it was ascertained that no error had crept in. If, at all, there are a few mistakes in the use of words, grammar, or introduction of new phrases or words or even new ideas they can be attributed to the changes the songs have undergone at the hands of the women from whom they were taken.

Of the 23 songs the following distribution may be made according to the occasions when they are sung. Thus 2 are sung during pregnancy, 2 at child birth, 1 at the time of worshipping the sun, 1 at the time of worshipping water, and 14 during marriage festival. Of the remaining two, one refers to the relation of a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law, and the other is sung by young women in the month of *Shravan* while enjoying on a swing.

A further classification may be made of the 14 marriage songs which practically cover all the events of a Hindu marriage. Thus it can be shown that there is one song sung on receipt of a *Lagin-tip* (A letter fixing the marriage day); one sung at the time of worshipping the refuse-heap, perhaps a common ground of the whole village, on the eve of marriage; two at the time of *Ganesh-pujan*; two at the time of applying turmeric; one at the time of bath; one at the time when the bride-groom's party arrives at the village of the bride for marriage; one at the time of going round the sacred fire—*Sapta-padi*; one when the bridegroom starts for his village with his new bride; one on the way home; and there are three which cannot be attributed to any particular event.

Songs 1 and 2 celebrate the event of pregnancy. It seems that a festival is arranged in honour of pregnancy. Songs 3 and 4 are sung at the time of the birth of a child. The feeling that the birth of a male child brings the highest bliss to the family is clearly seen in these songs. The birth of a child is compared in the 3rd song to the falling of the rains. Perhaps the comparison suggests that just as the rains bring prosperity so also would the child. In the 4th song the mother of a newly-born baby is so glad that she is prepared to give the *dai* an ornament, besides a good *bakshis* (*badosi*) in honour of Krishna, the newly-born baby.

Barber's wife seems to be an important person in the household. She generally works as *dai* for labour cases. This is seen in song 5. Generally a man's sister and his wife are at loggerheads and find fault with each other even in ordinary matters. This is cleverly shown in this song. Here this strained relation has reached such a point that a mother of a newly-born baby is angry because the barber's wife sent *gugard* (a sweet dish prepared of wheat) to the sister of the husband. The sister too speaks of the sister-in-law as a biting bitch and a frog.

In almost all the communities of Malwa after a fixed time the mother with her new child is taken out of her room to worship the sun. The 6th song is on this occasion. It is to my mind a metaphorical song in which a child is compared to different ornaments. In this song only two ornaments are alluded to but I was told that the names of the other ones can also be used. The woman says to the sun god that she would worship him only if she gets a head and an ear ornament. Possibly the idea is that the son should have a long life and thus be an ornament to her.

Similarly after some time after child-birth, which varies in different communities, water is worshipped. After *jalswa pujan*, as it is called, the woman is considered as purified and is allowed to do her house-hold work. I was told that the period between child-birth and *jalswa-pujan* is shortened if there are not in the house enough women to do the house-hold duties. Nay, I was told by a Bhil that even after eight or nine days this ceremony is performed if the woman, who is a mother, is the only woman in the house. The song, under consideration, is a conversation between a husband and a wife. The wife asks her *Raseeya* darling to bring sweetmeats weighing a maund and a quarter on that day. The woman does not let go the opportunity of showing her vanity as regards the greatness of her father's family. So she says that even if she were to distribute a small piece of the sweets to her relatives it would not be sufficient. In the end there is a little tender

situation and the couple charges each other as being angry and the situation brought about is really romantic.

Now we pass to the songs under the marriage-group. The eighth song, meaning of which I could not get, is sung when a messenger from the bride-groom arrives with a message *lagintip*, fixing the marriage day at the bride's family. It seems that the news is reported to the bride's people by the messenger in the morning and the women begin to sing out of joy and merriment.

In most of the castes of Malwa, before marriage, the bride and the bride-groom go in their respective villages to the common ground of the village where rubbish is accumulated for worshipping it. While worshipping, this song is sung. Perhaps, the heap is invoked to take a message to their dead ones to acquaint them with the intended marriage, and to request them to attend the same. Thus it would be noticed in the ninth song names of all the relations, whom the invokers remember are taken.

Songs 10 and 11 refer to Ganesh-pujan which takes place in Hindu families before any auspicious function takes place. The tenth song, though it is admitted that without the aid of Gajanan nothing can be successfully accomplished, is a little frivolous one because in quite a jocular way it describes the disproportioned body of the deity. It is not so with the next song. In that song Gajanan is invoked and his aid is solicited wherever people go for marriage purchases etc.

Application of turmeric to the bodies of the bride and the bride-groom takes place a few days before marriage. Relatives and friends, specially female ones, are invited to take part in the ceremony and this invitation is considered as a great honour by them. Songs 12 and 13 are sung by those present on this occasion. It is suggested that better turmeric is grown in Malwa and the bodies are purified and become fragrant on account of its application.

The 14th song is a romantic conversation between the bride and the bride-groom. This is sung at the time of taking bath. The boy is taking bath and the girl asks him why he went to her village. Perhaps she wants him to answer that he went there for her but the boy knowing the intention of the girl cleverly avoids to give the desired answer but says that he went there in response to her father's invitation, and because he had paid her father hard cash.

Generally in villages the bride and the bride-groom belong to different villages and the bride-groom goes to the village of the

bride for marriage. Song 15 is sung when the boy with all his relatives arrives at the village of the girl. It shows the nature of reception given to them by the bride's family. *Choupat* is a game played with *couries* and drafts called *songatyas*. The fate of a player is decided by the fall of *couries*. The bride's mother asks who won and who lost in the game and appropriately enough she is told that her husband lost and the loss is in the form of her daughter. The mother then pretends to be angry and asks her husband why he lost their daughter when there were many other things to lose. The husband retorts by saying "Dear, first your father lost you to me and then I lost my daughter to him."

Songs 16 and 17 show how after marriage daughters change their attitude in respect of their parents and become partial towards their husbands. The father has paid to his utmost capacity to his daughter in marriage but both the girl and the boy are not satisfied and want something more. The girl asks the brahmin, at the time of *saptagadi* not to start the rounds around the sacred fire but insists to call her father who has gone to the forest. But curiously enough there is an abrupt end. The boy suggests to the girl that they are only two in the forest and the third is the God. I do not know whether he wants to suggest that now they were married and were therefore the only supporters of each other. In the 17th song the father is sorry to see his daughter departing from him and somebody says to the girl to see her father who is standing at the gate of the booth. But the girl says to her father that he should bring her more money otherwise she is quite happy at her new place. The father then says that he has very little money, and more debts but does not forget to tell his daughter to return soon. The only inference that can be drawn from these two songs is that the girls identify themselves with their husbands' families more than they do with their fathers' after marriage.

Song 18 is a huge joke. The bride is going to her husband's place. Her friends are enjoining at her cost. They say that she is very much anxious to meet her husband but she cannot do so due to the presence of other elderly persons in the household. This is a common joke played by the friends of the newly married couple.

Songs 19 and 20 appear to be recent ones. Both are about the railway trains. In the latter it is asked, "What is loaded in the train?" And the answer is, "Ladus, jilebi and ghevar."—all sweet dishes.

Song 21 appears to refer to a social ceremony which takes place after the wedding. Generally supari—parts of betel-nuts—is given to those assembled to witness the marriage.

In song 22 we find the attitude of the daughter-in-law towards the mother-in-law.

Song 23 is sung by the young wives who have come to stay with their parents in the first *Shravan* after their marriage.

In the following pages folk-songs are given in the Roman script and their meaning in English. As regards their meaning I consulted some people from those castes from whom the songs were taken. My translation is mainly based upon the meaning suggested by them.

PREGNANCY SONGS.

(DARJIS')

- (1) Agarniki chabalagi, ho Kesariya,
 Mathane bhamar ghadavojo, ho Kesariya,
 Mharitiko ratan jadavo,
 Agarniki chabalagi etc.
 Agarni, agarni kai karoho, Kesariya,
 Mhari agarniko badare oohhav,
 Kanana zhai jadavojo, ho Kesariya,
 Mharo zhoomana ratan jadavo,
 Agarniki chabalagi etc.
 Agarni, agarni kai karo, ho Kesariya,
 Mhari nitnavi agarni karovo
 Agarniki chabalagi etc.

Translation :—

Oh Kesariya, look at the beauty of the pregnant woman.
 Oh Kesariya, make an ornament for her head. Put jewel on
 the pregnant woman. Oh Kesariya, look at the beauty etc.

Oh Kesariya, what sayest thou 'a pregnant woman,' 'a
 pregnant woman'? There is a grand festival to celebrate this
 event of my pregnant woman. Put a jewel on her ear. Oh
 Kesariya, look at the beauty etc.

Oh Kesariya, what sayest thou 'a pregnant woman,' 'a
 pregnant woman'? May this my pregnant woman be always
 pregnant. Oh Kesariya, look at the beauty etc.

- (2) Chanda thari chandaniji, dagal ghali khat,
 Susarajike rajme agarni karohoji raj,
 Sayabjike rajme doy pankha dholaoji raj,

Translation:—

Oh moon, when you are with your wife (star), There
should be placed a cot under the bough. Celebrate the festival
of a pregnant woman in the regime of the father-in-law.
In the regime of the husband, there ought to be two persons
to fan her.

SONGS AT THE TIME OF CHILD-BIRTH.

(DARJIA)

- (3) Jayeni kijo us chira ka ptrethane,
penchakanirkhayane,
Daine bag bulave inagharama,
Panipade itar inagharama,
Apto Jacharani, lalalalsuta,
Gopalalalsuta,
Hamane lagai dodaded inagharama,
Rang udere gulal inagharama,

Translation:—

Go and tell that man, who has folds on his turban, who
looks through the corners of his eyes,
Call the nurse immediately in this house,
Rains are falling in this house,
Now you are a mother, you have a male child,
you have Gopal as your child,
He has caused this great bustle in this house,
Gulal is being sprinkled in this house.

- (4) Tede, tedore mhari dai saputi,
Avatose dinad zhaleree mai,
Jasodiki duladiya mangedhe dai.
Duladibhi deunga, ne tiladibhi deunga.
Or Krishnaki badaireemai.
Or lalki badaireemai,
Jasodiki duladiya mangedhe dai.
Tede, tedore mhari susu saputi,
Kunwar petiyame zhaleree mai.

Translation:—

Go very quickly and call my good dai,
Oh mai, protect this poor woman,
The dai wants the mattress of Jasoda.
I will give her a mattress of Jasoda, I will also give her
an ornament.

I will give her besides a good *bakshis* for my Krishna,
 The dai wants the mattress of Jasoda,
 Go very quickly and call my good mother-in-law,
 Oh mai, protect the child which is in my embryo

SONG AT THE TIME OF NAMING A CHILD.

(LODHAS)

- (5) "Tambaki toldi mangav, rupakeri dhankani,
 Kachya gahuki gungari randavo
 Tede tedore nhaviki nar
 Mhare nagar batavo gungari,
 Diye diya avale savale ser,
 Mhare nanand mat de gungari,
 Nhavijki nar asai gavar,
 Mhare nanand didi gungari,
 Bhalo, uthi; Sahab, liledi patsao,
 Mhari pachhi laida gungari".
 "Ave hira, bethe padmaal,
 Ke thara manki bat",
 "Batato masi diyonijay, babadhari,
 Bhaka gharaki nar,
 Ve pachhi mange gungari
 Bai, adhi dhara baluda samajav,
 Pen adha dalde gungari,"
 "Birare, baluda rakhuga samara,
 Mhara baluda rakunga samara,
 Dhari sari leja gungari,
 Yedhu mara Ganga-Jamna khob,
 Rejki randhu gungari,
 Fer, biro mharo devalmeko deo,
 Mhari babaj katki kutei,
 Biro mharo sarovaranyaka hansa,
 Babaj mhari asyar dedki".

Translation :—

- "Bring me scales of copper and plates of silver.
 "Prepare *gungari* of new wheat.
 "Oh barber's wife, hurry up,
 "Distribute the *gungari* in my village.
 "Give it to all the relations, distant and near.
 "Mind, do not give it to my husband's sister.
 "The barber's wife is very bad,
 "She gave *gungari* to my husband's sister.

" Oh brothers get up, oh husband get up, go swiftly on
horseback

" And bring back my *gungari*."

(The husband goes to his sister's house)

" Come brother, sit in the *padmal* (hall),

" Tell me what is in your mind ?

" Oh dear, I cannot give out what is in my mind,

" My wife does not eat anything,

" She wants back the *gungari*."

(The sister is returning the *gungari* and her child
begins crying).

" Sister, don't let your child weep,

" Give half the *gungari*."

" Brother, I will console the child,

" You take all the *gungari*,

" I have got so much corn from the Ganges and the Jamna

" I can cook *gungari* everyday

" Oh, my brother is still a god from the temple,

" But his wife is a biting bitch.

" My brother is a swan of the lake,

" His wife is a frog of the same."

HONG AT THE TIME OF SURAJ-PUJAN

(WORSHIP OF THE SUN).

(DARJE)

- (6) *Mhara mathane samar ghadavo, Kesariyanay, han ho
Pataliyanay.*

*Jadham suraj jawara jee
Maite daiya ho daiyakur dinad jararaj,
Toya mhari sadan purijee,
Mhara ksnane shal ghadavo.
Kesariyanay, han ho Pataliyanay.*

Translation :—

Oh Kesariya, Oh Pataliya, make an ornament for my head,
Then alone I would worship the Sun.
Please be merciful towards me,
Oh Lord, the day is about to set,
Please fulfill my desire,
Make my son an ornament,
Oh Kesariya Oh Pataliya.

SONG AT THE TIME OF JALWA-PUJAN

(WORSHIP OF WATER).

(DARJIS)

7. " Mathane zhamar ghadavo, Raseeya,
 Layado bala chunadi.
 Mhari aaj jalwari ratho Raseeya,
 Layado bala chunadi.
 Laindo laindo kai karo ?
 Mhari aaj jalwari ratho Raseeya.
 Savaman lavjo sukado,
 Kai adman gendgulal ho Raseeya.
 Saelyame banta sukado,
 Mharo nanyo khele gend ho, Raseeya,
 Layado bala chunadi.
 Mhari sonjame udere gulal, ho Raseeya,
 Layado bala chunadi.
 Got bada mharo bapsko,
 Kai dali dali batjaya ho Raseeya,
 Layado bala chunadi.
 Kayase bache betha gaya ?
 Kayase laduse nikalya gala ho Raseeya ?
 Layado bala chunadi."
 " Kunjira bache betha gaya ? "
 " Kunjira nikalya gala ho Raseeya ?
 Layado bala chunadi."
 " Kesariya bache beth gaya,"
 " Jacharani nikalya gala ho,"
 Raseeya layado bala chunadi.

Translation :—

- " Oh dear make an ornament for my head.
 " Bring a *chunadi* (garment) for the baby.
 " Oh dear, this night I am worshipping water.
 " Bring a *chunadi* for the baby.
 " What sayest thou " I ' ll bring, I ' ll bring " ?
 " Oh dear, this night I am worshipping water.
 " Bring sweetmeats, a maund and a quarter,
 " And some half a maund of *gulal*.
 " I will distribute the sweets among my friends,
 " And my baby would play with a ball, oh dear.
 " Oh dear, *gulal* is thrown on my bedstead.
 " Bring *chunadi* for the baby.

- " Many are my father's relations,
 " A few bits would be distributed, oh dear.
 " Bring a *chunadi* for the baby.
 " Why do you keep mum ?
 " Why have you puffed your cheeks ?
 " Who dear, bring a *chunadi* for the baby.
 " Has thinking made you mum ?
 " Or has puffed the cheeks like ladus (sweet-balls) ? "
 " Who is keeping mum ?
 " Whose cheeks are puffed ?
 " Oh dear, bring a *chunadi* for the baby."
 " Kesaraya is keeping mum."
 " Jacharani (mother of the baby) has puffed her cheeks".
 " Oh Raseeya, bring a *chunadi* for the baby."

MARRIAGE—SONGS

When a letter fixing the marriage day is sent. (This is known as *lagin-tip*)

MALIS

8. Suvare palyo vadao mharī aviyo.
 Mokalyo mharā sasaraji pol.
 Sasarayē lio khonliya ayel
 Sasaya harak vadaviyo.

Song at the time of worshipping the heap of garbage etc. by the bride and the bridegroom at their respective places on the eve of their marriage.

9. Sarage bhavanti osameli, ako sandesho letija,
 Jainē kije.....¹
 Tame gharame hetaro vyav.
 Hamaro to avana nahi hoy,
 Talavo jadya brinjalsarna,
 Hamara to avana nahi hoy.

Translation:—

- "They all are in the heaven, take this message to them.
 Go and tell.....¹
 There is a marriage in your family."
 "We are unable to attend (the wedding).
 The big locks are made of steel.
 We are unable to attend."

1 Put the name of a dead ancestor.

SONGS AT THE TIME OF GANESH-PUNJAN.

(MALIS)

10. Tamane Gavarishankar, manave Ganesh,
 Tamavin ghadi na sara.
 Tamara sis motho, Ganesh,
 Zabalak diyo jo jale.
 Tamara petmo moto Ganesh,
 Sayaman churamo jo chadhe.
 Tamara kanjo moto Ganesh,
 Ladala par chavar jo dhule.
 Tamara paav jo moto Ganesh,
 Tranya' wadi khub vane.

Translation:—

Oh Gavarishankar, you must be worshipped,
 Nothing can be accomplished without your aid.
 Oh Ganesh, your head is very big.
 Oh Ganesh, your stomach is very big.
 It contains *churama* (sweet balls) weighing a maund
 and quarter.
 Oh Ganesh, your ears are very long,
 They serve the purpose of chowries for the bride-groom.
 Oh Ganesh, your feet are very long.

(DANHS)

11. Chalo Gajanan, Joshi ke chala
 Achcha achcha lagana likhava.
 Gajanan, Kotari gadipar nobat baje:
 Indaragadha gaje,
 Zhini zhini zhalar baje,
 Gajanan Kotari gadi par nobat baje.
 Chalo Gajanan, Bajaji ke chala
 To achcha achcha padala mola lava, Gajanan.
 Chalo Gajanan, Soni ke chala
 Achcha achcha gena mola lava, Gajanan.
 Chalo Gajanan, mali ke chala
 Achcha achcha sevara mola lava, Gajanan.
 Chalo Gajanan, tamboli ke chala
 Achcha achcha badala mola lava, Gajanan.
 Chalo Gajanan, halawai ke chala
 Achcha achcha mewa mola lava, Gajanan.
 Chalo Gajanan, mochi ke chala
 Achcha achcha moja mola lava, Gajanan.

Chalo Gajanan, Kachchi ke chala
 Achcha achcha ghodiya mola lava, Gajanan.
 Chalo Gajanan, sajana ke chala
 Achchi achchi banadi paranaya, Gajanan.
 Gajanan, Kotar! gadi par nebat baje.

Translation :—

Oh Gajanan, let us go to the brahmin,
 Let us write an auspicious time for marriage.
 Oh Gajanan, drums are beaten at Kota,
 And even the fortress of Indra is echoed with it.
 Tiny instruments are producing rhythmic music,
 Oh Gajanan, drums are beaten at Kota,
 And even the fortress of Indra is echoed with it.
 Oh Gajanan, let us go to the instrumentalist,
 Let us buy a good musical instrument.
 Oh Gajanan, let us go to the goldsmith,
 Let us purchase good ornaments.
 Oh Gajanan, let us go to the gardener,
 Let us purchase good garlands.
 Oh Gajanan, let us go to the betel-seller,
 Let us purchase good betel-leaves.
 Oh Gajanan, let us go to the confectioner,
 Let us purchase good sweetenasta.
 Oh Gajanan, let us go to the shoemaker,
 Let us purchase a good pair of shoes.
 Oh Gajanan, let us go to the groom,
 Let us purchase a good (female) horse.
 Oh Gajanan, let us go to the good people,
 Let us marry good girls.
 Oh Gajanan, drums are beaten at Kota.
 And even the fortress of Indra is echoed with it.

SONGS AT THE TIME OF APPLYING TURMERIC

(DARIJS)

12. Ini haldiko rang
 Surang nipaje Malawe,
 Mola lave kadalka dadaji,
 Malano mana rama.
 Unaki mata he chatar sujan,
 Haldiko lave.
 Lada, thodisi anga lagav,
 Yo anga parimala.
 Ini haldiko ranga

Suranga nipa ja Malawa,
 Mola lave ladaka kakaji,
 Kakiro mana rame.
 Unaki kaki he chatar sujan.
 Haladi ko lawa.

Translation :—

This turmeric which is produced in Malwa gives beautiful colour.

It has been bought by the father of the bridegroom.

The heart of the mother is full of joy.

His mother is a clever good woman,

She applies turmeric to his body.

Oh boy, put it on your body,

Your body would be fragrant.

This turmeric which is produced in Malwa gives beautiful colour.

It has been bought by the uncle of the bridegroom.

The heart of the aunt is full of joy.

His aunt is a clever good woman,

She applies turmeric to his body.

(MALIA)

13. Ladaka daujine haladi mola,
 Matane mans rali.
 Lada thodai unga lagav,
 Ranga ke vadiyo.

Translation :—

Let us give costly turmeric to the boy

The heart of the mother is full of joy.

Oh boy put it a little on your body,

It would increase the beauty of your skin.

SONG AT THE TIME OF BATH.

(DARJIA)

14. Khala hala khala hala nadi bahe,
 Gero lado nahavane betho ho raj.
 Banadi puche, 'sunho dulaiya,
 Kayase karan aya ho raj.'
 'Thara dadajira bola bechan
 Hama kakand denkha aya ho raj:
 'Kakand rokhai denkha dulaiya,

Kakand halidane rundiyo raj :
 'Jada hama kharacha rokha rupiya,
 Jada hama kakand denkha ho raj,
 Banadi puche, 'Sunore dulaiya,
 Kayare karan aya ho raj:
 'Thara kakajira bola hasban
 Hama goyaro denkan aya ho raj:
 'Goyaro rokhai denkha dulaiya
 Goyaro guwalyane rundiyo ho raj:
 'Jada hama kharacha rokha rupiya
 Jada hama goyaro denkha aya ho raj.

Translation:—

The river is flowing making rippling noise,
 The handsome bride-groom is taking bath.
 The bride asked him, "Oh boy listen,
 "Why have you come here."
 "Because of your father's words,
 "I saw the ploughs and have come here"
 "Oh Dulaiya, you have seen the ploughs,
 But they are planted there by the farmers"
 "When I have spent hard cash,
 "I have come by seeing the ploughs"
 The girl asked, "Oh Dulaiya, listen,
 "Why have you come here?"
 "Because of your father's words,
 I saw the cows and have come here."
 "Oh Dulaiya, the cows are seen,
 "See they are held up there by the cow-boys."
 "When I have spent hard cash,
 "I have come by seeing the cows."

SONG WHEN THE BRIDE-GROOM'S PARTY ARRIVES AT THE BRIDE'S VILLAGE

(DARJIS)

15. "Lilipili jajam ralavo, mhara piyuji,
 Sajan sara betha giji,
 Mandiyo mandiyo chopas kero khyal, mhara
 piyuji,
 Kun harya kun jitiyaji?"
 "Jitya jitya Hadamatjira Bhima, mhara Gauri."
 "Rayabaira, Dadaji hariyaji."
 "Gunwada mayari bhensa kyon ni hariyaji,
 mahra piyuji ?

Rajakanwar kyon hariyaji?"
 "Peala hara tamara bapa, mari Gauri,
 Jani pachche ham hariyaji."
 "Dabamayala gena kyon na hariyaji mhara
 piyaji ?
 Rajakanwar kyon hariyaji ?
 Bufacha mayala satu kyonna hariyaji, mhara
 piyaji ?
 Rajakanwar kyon hariyaji ?"

Translation:—

"Oh lord, spread the carpets of red and yellow straps,
 All good people would sit on it.
 Oh my lord, play the game of *choupal*.
 Who has won who has lost?"
 "Oh my *Gauri*, Hadmat Bhim has won."
 "Rayabal, Dadaji has lost."
 "Oh my lord, why have you not lost the cows from the
 stable ?
 Why have you lost Rajakanwar?"
 "Oh my *Gauri*, your father first lost you to me,
 Afterwards I have lost."
 "Oh my lord, why have you not lost the ornaments from
 the box?
 Why have you lost Rajakanwar?
 Oh my lord, why have you not lost the sarries (*Shalu*)
 from the box?
 Why have you lost Rajakanwar?"

SONG AT THE TIME OF GOING ROUND THE SACRED FIRE.

(DARJIS)

16. Ladi—Pehalo to phero pharero, Garashya.
 Parents—Baina charava diya kunda bi diya
 To bi ni samazo, Garashya.
 Bara barase kanya di satake,
 samazo, Garashya.
 Dhol baje dhadadhad.
 Chaurya band khand mai.
 Ladi—Pehalo phero, joshi, mat karo
 Mharo Dadajina tedhavo,

Lado—Gela huve Rakhman bavia,
 Vaname, Dadoji ka hai ?
 Vaname bhala ho apan dohi jana
 Tija sari Bhagawan.

Translation :—

The girl : Oh, lord, begin the first round.
 Parents : I have given to my daughter a *kunda*
 full of money.
 Still the bride-groom is not satisfied,
 Oh bride-groom, you get a girl
 who is twelve years old.
 Drums are beaten,
Chauries are fluttering.
 The girl : Oh joshi, don't start the first round
 First call my father.
 The boy : Oh Rakhman, you have become a fool,
 Where is your father ? He has gone to the
 forest.
 Here in the forest we are only two,
 And the third is the Lord Bhagawan.

SONG WHEN THE BRIDE-GROOM STARTS FOR HIS VILLAGE WITH HIS BRIDE.

(LOBHAS)

17. Pachcha pharcho Rukhama joviya,
 Dadoji abha mandav het,
 Ladi :—The ghara java Dadaji spane,
 Meto java paradesh.
 Sampat ho to lavafo,
 Ni to bhala paradesh.
 Bep :—Sampat thedo, run ghano,
 Bains lava bade beg.

Translation :—

Oh Rukhama, please return back,
 The father is standing near the booth.
 The Girl :—Oh father dear, go to your house,
 I am going to another country,
 Bring if you have any wealth,
 Else I am happy in the other country.
 The father :—I have wealth but very little
 But debt in greater quantity.
 Send the girl back very soon.

SONG ON THE WAY WHEN THE BRIDE-GROOM
RETURNS TO HIS VILLAGE WITH HIS
BRIDE AFTER MARRIAGE.

(LODHAS)

18. Banaji, thandi hava chali,
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?
Bagome mera milana ?
Bagome malan khadi.
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?
Banaji, thandi hava chali,
Panagat ko milana ?
Nananda khadi.
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?
Banaji thandi hava chali,
Sherome milana ?
Sahaliya khadi.
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?
Banaji thandi hava chali,
Anganome milana ?
Devar jetha khada.
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?
Banaji thandi hava chali,
Randanime milana ?
Sasu khadi.
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?
Banaji thandi hava chali,
Rasodame milana ?
(*)......khadi.
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?
Banaji thandi hava chali
Palangpar milana ?
Sahab khada.
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?
Banaji thandi hava chali,
Ladiji, chokapar milana,
Derani khadi.
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?
Banaji, thandi hava chali,
Pachohavade milalena ?
Koina khada ?

* Put any name

Banaji thandi hava chali
Mera milana kaisa bade ho ?

Translation :—

Dear, it's getting very cold,
How can I meet you ?
Were I to meet you in the garden ?
Gardener is standing there.
How can I meet you ?
Dear, it's getting very cold,
Were I to meet you on the bed-stead ?
Your sister is standing there.
How can I meet you ?
Dear, it's getting very cold,
Were I to meet you in the city ?
My friends are standing there.
How can I meet you ?
Dear, it's getting very cold,
Were I to meet you in the court-yard ?
Your elder and younger brother are there.
How can I meet you ?
Were I to meet you in the inner compartment ?
My mother-in-law is standing there,
How can I meet you ?
Dear, it's getting very cold,
Were I to meet you in the kitchen ?
*.....is standing there.
How can I meet you ?
Dear it's getting cold,
Were I to meet you on the bed-stead ?
My father-in-law is standing there.
How can I meet you ?
Dear, it's getting very cold,
Were I to meet you in the *chowk* (yard) ?
Eldest sister-in-law is there.
How can I meet you ?
Dear, it's getting very cold.
Should I meet you at the back of the house ?
Is there no one standing ?
Dear, it's getting very cold,
How can I meet you ?

* Put any name.

SOME OTHER MARRIAGE SONGS WHICH COULD NOT
BE ATTRIBUTED TO ANY OCCASION.

(Lodhas)

19. Baniji puchhe, sunore banada,
Tumhari rel kaha jati ?
Indore bi jati, Dakkhan be jati
Dakkhanka sara mala bhar lati
Piveji pani jaleji koyala
Phorasse meri rel udajati.

Translation :—

The bride asks the bridegroom,
"Listen oh dear, where does your train go ?"
"It goes to Indore, it goes to the Deccan.
"It brings good commodities of the Deccan
"It drinks water, it consumes coal,
"My train runs very fast."

(Lodhas)

20. Cheelagadi sai, havagadi sai,
Is is gadime kya kya bhara ?
Bano Bani, naven dekhoji Bana,
Cheelagadi sai, havagadi sai.
Serki sethanya dekhoji sai,
Dekhoji Bana, cheelagadi sai.
Is is gadime kya kya bhara ?
Ladu Jalebi ghevar,
Dekhore Banaji, cheelagadi sai.

Translation :—

The train has come,
What have you put in it ?
.....
The city ladies have come to see,
See Bana, the train has come.
What have you put in it ?
Laddus Jilebi and Ghevar,
Oh see Banaji, the train has come.

(MALIS)

21. Banadeko jakar kahana ke lave sarota,
Katakat katakat kategi supari.
Chandika sarota, sonaki dandi,
Barobar barobar kategi supari.

Bansdeko jakar, kabana lave chalaniya,
 Harobar harobar chchanegi supari,
 Havellma jakar batagi supari.

Translation :—

Go and tell the boy to bring a nut-cracker,
 Betel-nuts would be cut into pieces.
 Nut-cracker of silver with handles of gold,
 Would cut the betel-nuts properly
 Go and tell the boy to bring a sieve
 It would sieve the betel,
 The betel nut would be distributed in the hall.

A SONG SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN A
 DAUGHTER-IN-LAW AND A MOTHER-IN-LAW.

22. Sasu bichari ghatti piso
 Vahuji zankana zake dekhe.
 Patalo patalo pis mari, sasu,
 Daliyo kya dhamakati ?
 Sasu bichari roti pove,
 Vahuji zankana zake dekhe.
 Patala patala pove, sasuji,
 Chehana kyon dhamakati ?
 Sasu bichari roti khaye,
 Vahuji zankana zake dekhe.
 Chchota chhota kokaya khavoji, sasuji,
 Ankhi kyon dhamakati ?

Translation :—

Mother-in-law, poor soul, grinds,
 But the daughter-in-law hides,
 And looks through the holes.
 "Grind it very thin, now, mother-in-law,
 "How were you frightening me when I was grinding?"
 Mother-in-Law, poor soul, bakes bread,
 But the daughter-in-law hides,
 And looks through the holes.
 "Make thinner bread now, mother-in-law,

 Mother-in-Law, poor soul, eats bread,
 But the daughter-in-law hides,
 And looks through the holes.
 "Eat, oh mother-in-law, smaller bits of bread,
 "Why are you, now, devouring the whole of it?"

SONG ON A SWING IN THE MONTH OF *SHRAVAN*

(LODHAS)

23. Limbe limboli paki,
 Sravan mahina avoji.
 Utho.....¹.....bira,
 Liledi palano.....².....
 Bena masaryame zule."
 " Zuleto zulava de
 " Elake Shravan lavaga."

Translation :—

- " The lemons are ripe,
 " The month of Shravan has crept in.
 " Get up brother,.....¹.....
 " Start on your horse to younger sister,.....².....
 " Sister takes swings at her father-in-law's."
 " If she is taking swings, let her,
 " We would bring her in the next Shravan."*

G. R. PRADHAN

1. Put any name.

* I am grateful to the Dhar Durbar for their kind help during my stay at Dhar and to Prof. G. S. Ghurye for his encouragement.

RABARIS OF KATHIAWAR (A SOCIAL STUDY)

Origin of the name. The word Rabari comes from the words 'rah' and 'bari'. The meaning of the words is those whose ways are quite distinct from those of other people. We can also understand from it those who live away from other people and who take to outlawry and nomadic life. This is what we gather about Rabaris when we read ancient history of Kathiawad, Cutch and Marwad. The word explains how these Rabaris used to steal away cattle and camels and escape without being arrested or punished. These criminal habits must have forced them to live away from other villagers. So it is clear that they must have received the name of Rabaris from their criminal habits. Col. Todd mentions in his famous History of Rajasthan that Rabaris used to mislead quite a number of camels by thrusting in one of the camels in a herd and by dipping a piece of cloth in the blood of that camel and by holding that blood stained cloth to the noses of other camels. This method was so effective that which herd of camels used to follow them wherever they liked.

We find that Rabaris claim that they have descended from a Rabari named Sambal. He used to look after the dromedaries of God Shankar. It is said that once upon a time God Shankar asked him if he was married. When Sambal replied in the negative God Shankar married him to a nymph out of mercy. But he was told by God Shankar that if he would speak with that nymph she would leave him and go away to her original home, and that he would never be able to see or meet her anywhere. Thus began his married life. In the course of time he had four sons. Once upon a time Sambal was asked by God Shankar to leave Kathiawar and to go with his family to live on the earth. It is said that he had offended God Shankar and as a result of that he was cursed by God Shankar to fall on this earth.

Rabaris are more familiarly called Rabaras. They occupy a common place with the Shepherds, Kunbis, Rajputs, Ahirs, Charans, Kathis, in hierarchy of castes. Their customs and manners are somewhat similar to the customs and manners of those people. They have no objection to take their food together. So they are included in the group of thirteen castes who take their food together but do not give or take the daughters of one another.

Their original home. History traces them to be at first the inhabitants of Baluchistan. The nature of the country being

rocky, mountainous, barren and sandy, they began to keep a number of camels and to look after them, to train them for long journeys in barren tracts, to milk them and to make coarse cloth out of their hair, or to prepare ghee from the milk of the dromedaries for use and sale. The country was too small to meet their needs when they increased in the course of time. So they had to shift in order to maintain themselves. They therefore went to Marwad and settled there.

They thrived well in Marwad. Marwad is said to be a home of camels. Rabaris found its climate very agreeable and they found their business very easy and profitable. They moved about from place to place with their camels and dromedaries. Slowly and slowly it was found that the camels and dromedaries were very useful in war for transport and for speed message bearing purposes. These Rabaris began to train dromedaries and soon the dromedaries and camels became famous throughout India for their swiftness and service. These camels were supplied to the states and we know that in the course of time camels began to take their due place in warfare along with horses and elephants. Rabaris acquired a special skill in managing and training camels.

Marwad too, proved a very limited field or a small country for the Rabaris. So they migrated to Cutch. For some time they lived in Cutch and migrated to Kathiawad. So long as they were living in Baluchistan, Marwad and Cutch they did not change the way of their life, habits and profession but when they came to Kathiawad the nature of the country did bring about a great change over them. This change was many-sided. Their nomadic life did not find the scope that it found in the above mentioned countries. They had therefore to take to a settled life. The nature of Kathiawad being not sandy and barren like those parts camels were not so much required in daily life as in those countries. They were therefore not able to train their camels, and they saw the fertility of the soil, rich pastures the great Gir and Barda forests and so they thought it worth while to give up the camels and take to breeding buffaloes. In a very short time they proved their cleverness and the Rabari buffaloes have made Kathiawad famous for its ghee or clarified butter in far off parts of India and Africa. Still we must say that the Rabaris of Kathiawad living on northern borders of Kathiawad do follow their old occupation of rearing and training camels. So also Rabaris in Cutch and Marwad still follow the occupation of rearing and training camels.

Family Customs. Generally speaking Rabaris do not follow

a hard and fast rule that they should invite their daughters a few months before their giving birth to their first child. A newly married daughter's parents may or may not call their daughter a few months after it is known that she has become pregnant for the first time. So also her father-in-law may or may not send her to her father's house. No special ceremonies are performed when she completes her fifth, seventh or eighth month of pregnancy.

No nurse or midwife is called in at the time of child-birth. The elderly woman in the house manages everything and helps the novice. No medicines and injections, no bandages and other hubbub is to be found in a *Rabari* house. The young woman who has recently given birth to a child is allowed to take rest for a few days. The household duties are performed by other women of the family. She takes complete rest for a week and then begins to attend to light and odd jobs which do not involve much physical strain. In the course of a fortnight she resumes her duties in the household. This is possible if there are other elderly woman in the house and if she is not exceptionally weakened in her confinement.

On the sixth day it is a custom to worship goddess 'chhathi' or 'Vidhatri' who, it is believed pays a visit to the young child and, when all the inmates of the house are fast asleep, writes the irrevocable letters of destiny. For this purpose a pen, a piece of paper, a little wet Kunkum, seven Pippal leaves and a piece of paper, with a woman sleeping in the bed and a cradle, lying by its side with Vidhatri riding an elephant very roughly drawn, are placed near the bed of the woman in confinement. The newly born child is made to wallow near the picture of the goddess by the child's father's sister or by the young mother herself for a few seconds before all retire to sleep.

Naming Ceremony. There is no rite of naming as such. For the time being, the newly-born child is addressed by the name of 'Gaga' or 'Gagi' which means son or daughter.

When the child is a month or month and a half old it is first taken out of the house to pay its respects to the family goddess. This custom is very rigidly followed in the case of the first-born child. It is believed that without receiving Goddess' blessings it does not thrive well and that sickness constantly attends it. The mother is accompanied by her near relatives especially the child's father's sister and other two women and their children. She takes with her a coconut and some present 'manta' for the goddess. The priest takes that coconut and breaks it into two having touched it to the threshold of the temple. He then accepts the present

and returns the half of that cocoanut to the mother as a gift from the goddess and blesses the child. The mother then makes the child to bow down to the goddess and after sitting there for a few minutes returns home with the company. She distributes the cocoanut gift amongst the inmates of the house and children of the neighbourhood. At the end of every year the Barot, the Rabari priest, pays a visit and takes down the name of the newly-born child and receives his fee. He gives a name to the child and receives one rupee, a cocoanut and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of wheat. This name is accepted and subsequently the child is addressed by that name. Here are some of the Rabari names Amra, Avda, Bala, Bothad, Dadu, Desur, Duda, Jadav, Jetho, Jodho, Kale, Ladho, Lapasio, Made, Maghro, Magho, Mango, Mundo, Mulu, Mungo, Munzo, Naran, Rano, Rayo, Sama, Sango, Taso, Viro, Galal, Kali, Kalu, Kama, Lachhu, Ladu, Lakhi, Liri, Luni, Nathi, Pakhi, Panchi, Panchal, Parbi, Puri, Rani, Rudi, Sajan, Weju, Wall.

When a Rabari boy is one year old he is taken to the goddess when the priest takes the boy in his hands and says very slowly a few sacred words in the ears of the boy after presenting him to the goddess. This muttering of 'mantras' admits him in the fold of Rabaris and he is considered to be made a Rabari by ceremony. This ceremony is equivalent to a Brahman boy's 'Yagnopavit' ceremony and a Christian's baptism ceremony. This ceremony is known by the name of 'PHUNK MĀRAVI.'

Rabaris keep a tuft of hair, on the head and beard as other Hindus do. They do not perform any ceremony at the time of keeping it, as Brahmans and others do. Generally speaking, young boys keep these tufts of hair when they are six or seven years of age. Rabaris do not ceremoniously get their heads shaved for the first time. Women keep a braid of hair after they are five years of age. They generally apply ghee to their hair and not sweet oil or any other sort of oil such as cocoanut oil. The reason for this is that they are cattle-farmers and ghee being made at home they use it instead of any kind of oil. Shepherds and other sheep-farmers apply ghee instead of oil to their hair. Rabari women keep the braid of hair for life. It is very inauspicious to get the braid of hair removed, which is done at the death of their husbands. After a year they may keep it again but are not found to be so keen in keeping it well-combed and well-oiled.

Tattooing. Rabari women are fond of getting their hands, arms, wrists, legs, and calves tattooed. Males too get their

arms and wrists tattooed. We find that Rabari women have tattoo marks on their cheeks, chins, necks, in between the eyebrows. In the middle part of the foreheads, they get one round mark called 'laduda' to enhance their beauty. On the arms and wrists and legs they either get a pyramid shape tattoo or a peacock because a peacock is considered very holy. Some get seven dots and a dot in the midst of them. Any how they look very beautiful by this painful device of tattooing. Every male has a camel sower with a lance in the hand at full speed on their right fore-arm. The reason is that if any Rabari is to be distinguished from others in a battle or a fight or in a jungle this mark helps a great way and becomes a great proof in asserting that a particular man is a Rabari. Often it so happens that a Rabari is killed by a tiger in a jungle while he is looking after his buffaloes or sometimes he meets with an accident by which he is so much disfigured that it becomes very difficult to recognize him. In such cases this camel tattoo-mark becomes very useful. They say that as a Yagnopavit is the sign of one's being a Brahmin so this camelmark becomes a positive sign of its bearer being a Rabari.

Occupation. Rabaris move about from place to place in search of pasture for their buffaloes. This necessitates their living in the pastures or places on the edges of big forests. They also have to live on the hills. There are Rabaris who do not follow this general occupation. These Rabaris settle down in villages and take to agriculture.

In these days when a great change is coming over the society, things have begun to take a new course being subject to circumstances. The forests are being cut down, The pasture lands are gradually getting smaller and narrower, the rain-fall in the province is gradually becoming less. In these circumstances Rabaris find it extremely difficult to rear a large number of buffaloes. So they are slowly and slowly giving up their original occupation and have thought it proper to settle down and take to agriculture. They cultivate for others as servants and get settled sum of money for their work. In some places they are masters of land and they pay a fixed sum or part of their crops to the state. The purchasers of camel are very few and these too are decreasing fast. The reason is that the necessity of camel was very great say seventy five years ago when there were no trains and motors. The art of war has also undergone a great change. So now no one requires a camel except for show or for sundry state business. Rabaris are thus losing a great deal and have to find out new sources of maintenance.

Rabaris of the coastline of Kathiawad rear camels not for the sake of sale but for other sundry needs of their families. In the point of education, Rabaris are some of the most illiterate people of Kathiawad. If we consult the census reports we find that the percentage of Rabari literates is hardly one. They say that if their children are educated there will be none to follow their occupation and that the family tradition will not be maintained. They train their children at home.

Training. As soon as a Rabari boy is five or six years of age he is initiated by his father, an elder brother or an uncle in the household duties (family business). Slowly and slowly he begins to be fond of young ones of buffaloes and begins to look after them with due care and fondness. He waters them and feeds them. He makes them go from place to place with a stick in his hand and a piece of cloth on his back or round his loins. He plays with them, makes them run a race with others of the same age, following them all the while some times alone or some times in the company of his friends or younger sisters. They sometimes follow their fathers and other elderly members of the family when they go out in the pastures with their buffaloes. He hears about buffaloes and their ways, from elderly people. He becomes a close friend of his buffaloes. They begin to know him and he in turn to them. Thus slowly and slowly he is initiated in the life of a Rabari. He begins to take interest in his occupation. Girls begin to help their mothers in giving them the household things that they require and many other small matters. We can see that Rabari children become useful members of their family at a very early age. Rabari parents being illiterate do not understand the meaning and the utility of education. They therefore do not think worth while to send their children to schools. We can also say that they have no money to pay for their education and that they cannot do without them and their help in their occupation. So each member of the family becomes an earning member and contributes his mite to the common fund.

A Rabari boy is taught four things viz. (1) how to milk buffaloes (2) how to use his big stick and his pick-axe *offensively* and *defensively* (3) how to live a sturdy rugged life and to look after his buffaloes and to guard them (4) how to make butter and clarified butter and sell it in the bazar. All this he learns at home from his father in the school of experience. So also a Rabari girl is taught (1) how to take care of the buffaloes at home and to milk them (2) how to manage her household frugally and well (3) how to keep her household accounts, how to rear up sturdy children

make whey, butter and clarified butter (4) and how to sell her milk to the adjoining village people and settle her accounts with the customers.

When a Rabari boy reaches the age of eight or ten he is able to work as his father's assistant. He accompanies him to the pastures some times in the neighbouring forests, high up in dense forests. The buffaloes of the father have begun to know him well and are seen ready to receive orders from him. So also a Rabari girl of eight or ten is able to work as her mother's assistant in her household duties. She helps her in a number of odd jobs. The parents of a Rabari girl of eight or ten become or begin to become anxious about her marriage.

Betrothal. In former days Rabari used to celebrate marriages of their daughters when they were only six or eight years of age. But now on account of the dearth of girls and other reasons, they have begun to raise their marriage age. Still they begin to be in search of a suitable bridegroom and begin to try to get her well betrothed, quite early.

It is a general custom that a Rabari when he goes out from village to village on some business of his, as a rule puts up at a Rabari's in the village. Thus he comes in touch with many Rabari families in the neighbourhood. By the by he looks for handsome and strong good boys and also for beautiful looking girls, quite well up in household duties, obedient and smart girls, of marriageable age. Generally speaking, when the hostess is otherwise engaged, the general management of the household rests with the daughter. She prepares food for all, she churns milk, buffaloes and does other household business. The guest marks all these things and forms an estimate of her abilities. So also the guest sees how the boy is doing in the house, how he helps his father and also his ways and manners and the build of his body. Most times this estimate is correct. The reason is that he marks these, as a keen observer without allowing the boy or the girl to know that he or she is watched and tested. After forming the opinion the guest leaves the family thinking within himself whether the boy or the girl is worth as a choice for his daughter or for his son. He goes home, consults his wife and other near relatives, if he thinks it worth while comes to the conclusion. If he has no son or daughter of a marriageable age he advises his friend or relative that a particular boy or girl is worthy to be a bride or a bridegroom of daughter or sons having or worth forming relations with.

There are certain surnames in Rabaris, which being of the same family stock, cannot by the law of custom offer or accept their daughters or sons amongst themselves. They are as follows :—

A Group	B Group	C Group
Hun	Haran	Jethwa
Chalana	Khadak	Malva
Duwar	Khatana	Solanki
Hadhala	Gohil	Dhama
Bari	Badb	Bharai
Ghelatar	Salawant	Rabadia
Kodlatar	Loha	Makwana
Gelsar	Ragya	Khandharia
Rathod	Rosi	Bhit
Mumar	Ulwa	Bhola
Maru	Chauhan	Rada
Lilotaria	Haranbari	Raba
Khayana	Kanta	Sambda
Luni	Mori	
Chau		

Families of A Group do not intermarry within that fold. So also B Group families do not intermarry within that fold. C Group families do not intermarry within their fold. They are however, allowed to marry their sons and daughters in other two groups i.e. A group may marry a son or a daughter of B group or C group so also B group may marry in A or C group and C group may marry in A or B group.

As soon as they know that a son or a girl of a particular family is acceptable they begin their negotiations through third party. If the negotiations come to a successful end betrothal is declared as final. Bridgroom's party distributes molasses amongst their relatives and neighbours. They also invite their nearest relatives to dinner.

After some days the father of the bridegroom accompanied by some relatives goes to the house of the would-be bride with three principal clothes viz., the upper garment 'Odhkani' a coarse red cloth, an underwear to be worn round the waist, and a green bodice with a lace. A silver ornament (Anklet) and a pair of white ivory bangles. These are presented by the mother of the would-be bridegroom to the bride-to-be, after applying 'Kumkum' mark in her own forehead and the forehead of the bride-to-be.

After this is over the party is treated very hospitably. The party is given a dinner of cooked rice, ghee and molasses. Ghee is very nicely served as if it is the chief dish. The next morning the party takes leave, when too, it is given a rich dinner of rice, ghee and molasses. The bridegroom's father once more thanks the father of the bride for the great favour that he has showed by accepting his request and thus raising him up in the eyes of the community people. At the time of taking leave the father of the bride asks which will be the time and year when it would be convenient for him to celebrate the marriage. A formal talk about the marriage ends the ceremony.

Marriage and after. They settle the question of marriage, by consulting their Goddess during Navaratri days, when the priest is requested to question the Goddess on behalf of the parents of the boys and girls who want to celebrate marriages.

Rabaris gather from all parts in the temple of the Goddess singing prayers and reciting Bhajans. When the priest begins to shake the people become quiet. They begin to whisper to one another that 'Mataji' has entered the body, hail to mother goddess of the priest, 'Bhawa' they cry out 'Jay Mataji.' After some time that priest gives in the hand of the person sitting by some grains of rice in reply to the question, 'when shall we celebrate the marriages of our daughters who are now of marriageable age.' The man sitting by him sees whether the grains are even in number or odd. If they are even 'Akha' as they are called the Goddess has given permission to celebrate the marriages in the next marriage season i. e. the month of Magh.* The month of Magh is very convenient for the Rabaris. All daughters of marriageable age are given away in marriage in that month. But if the number of grains is odd it is understood that the Goddess has forbidden marriages. No further question about that is asked and the Rabari marriages are postponed.

After receiving marriage sanction from the goddess the parents return to the village, call a Brahmin and consult him for a suitable marriage day time. He is given in return a pound and a quarter of Mag, a coconut and a quarter of a rupee as his fee. The intimation of the marriage day is first given to the father of the bridegroom. This letter is coloured red with Kumkum marks. It is therefore called 'Kumkum patriks'.

Preparations start in right earnest. Rice, gud (molasses), ghee and other sundry food articles are purchased from the adjoining

*Month corresponding to February. This month is convenient because it is neither too cold nor too hot. This month suits them.

village market. So also new cloth for making clothes is purchased and new suits are made to order for each of the members of the family. The bride's clothes are made as fine as possible.

In the mean time the marriage date is drawing near. The father of the bride-to-be and the father of the bridegroom-to-be invite their respective relations and friends to take part in the celebration of marriage. This is a very good custom. It adds to the prestige of the parties concerned and also procures them help. The groom's father consults the Brahman of the village and then fixes the day for starting with his marriage party. For this consultation he is given a silver coin, a cocoanut and a pound and a quarter of Mug.

Marriage party. The custom prevailing is that the marriage party should start by the evening. Bridegroom's father takes with him two musketeers to protect the party from thieves and robbers on the way. He also takes a barber with him to bear a torch by night to show the way. The whole party starts in carts, males and females sitting in separate carts. The bullocks are well decorated, their horns are painted and bells are tied round their necks. A drummer and a piper lead the party. So when the party starts there are the ringing of the bell necklaces in the necks of the bullocks on the one hand and on the other the drum is being beaten and the pipe is being played. Women in the carts begin their marriage songs loudly and with a great enthusiasm. The people of the village go to the village limits to give the party a hearty send off. Those having good relations with the family of the bride-groom pay a rupee as gift money to the father of the bride-groom.

On the day on which the marriage party of the bridegroom starts for the village of the bride 'Mandap Aropana' (putting up the Shamiana) ceremony is performed by both the parties at their on respective places. There is the custom that all the Rabari girls to be offered in marriage have their 'Mandap Aropana' together in the same compound. Sometimes we find that there are ten to twelve mandaps in a compound. The leader of the village Rabaris or the senior member of the village community or a comparatively well to do Rabari father of a bride requests the fathers of other Rabari brides to plant their mandaps in his compound. Family priest of the Rabaris (who happens to be the same for the whole village) performs this ceremony of planting mandaps by reciting certain mantras in praise of Ganpati and in praise of Goddess Saraswati. He then requests the mothers of the brides to worship Ganpati. He recites mantras and blesses them on his own behalf.

and on behalf of Ganpati. The mothers worship Ganpati with water and kumkum. They offer to the god rice and mug and a copper coin is offered as dakshina to the priest. A "*manekstambha*" is planted in the south eastern corner of the mandap with a bamboo stick about three feet in height. The shape of that "*manekstambha*" is like +, and its size is a foot in length. This "*manekstambha*" is allowed to remain posted as long the mandap stands. Habaris do not cover their mandaps with red or any sort of cloth over the bamboos on the Mandap but they keep it open to allow the sky to peep through. They only keep some grass bundles five in number Mango and Aso Palava leaves are stuck round. Just on the south western corner of the mandap is posted a bamboo pole and a paper peacock is tied up to that post. The belief is that its presence is auspicious because it is a favourite bird of "Mataji" and by keeping it there the goddess is pleased. At this rice and molasses are distributed. In the noon rice, ghee and sugar dinner is prepared and near and dear relatives and friends are invited to it. Women sing songs and children play in the compound.

Women of the bride-groom's side sing songs which speak of nothing but the greatness, richness and nobleness of their family and inferiority of the bride's father's family and of the fact that they are going to oblige the father of the bride and improve the lot of the bride-to-be. The party reaches the village of the father of the bride by midnight or some before the midnight. The father of the bride is informed of their arrival and so he goes with some of his relatives to welcome them. Special arrangements are made for their sojourn. After some time the party is invited to supper. This is generally speaking a rice sugar dinner. After dinner the party retires to rest.

In the morning the bride's mother accompanied by two elderly female relatives of her family go to the temporary residence of the groom's party to meet and greet the ladies mother and other elderly women of the bridegroom's party. They inquire if they are comfortable. Without sitting for a long time they retire taking their leave because it is a very busy day for them. The family priest helps the bride's father in getting dinner prepared for the bridegroom's party and other sundry things. At about 3 p.m. the party is called for dinner. After the dinner they (the people of the bridegroom's party) begin to make preparations to start for the marriage procession. Bridegroom dresses himself in his best suit. He puts on a good and rich big turban on his head, applies kumkum mark on his forehead, takes some rich and fragrant condiments like cardamum, cloves and 'supari'. By 5 p.m. he is ready.

In the mean time the family priest of the bride's father makes a 'CHORI' ready. 'CHORI' means 16 green bamboos posted in four directions, four at each corner with seven earthen pots of different sizes placed one upon another in the enclosed space. These earthen pots are coloured white and red. These sixteen posts of green bamboo are well tied up and well posted in the ground.

At about four o'clock the bridegroom's mother accompanied by three of her female relatives and a few children go to led by a drummer and a piper playing goes to the bride's mother and offers a rich pair of clothes for the bride. These clothes are a red 'chundri', a bodice and a rich underwear, a pair of ivory bangles painted red, and a Kanthli (a light and cheap silver ornament to be worn in the neck.) This ornament is given by exceptionally rich or well-to-do party. These things are given to the bride by her mother-in-law after applying a kumkum mark on her forehead.

After an hour the bridegroom accompanied by his party and led by drummer and a piper goes to the house of the bride. His men are all well dressed. Women sing songs. The purport of these songs is to make a mention of the richness and nobility of their family, cleverness of the bridegroom and the joy expression is given hint to. The bridegroom puts on country breeches, a short bundi, he also ties round his waist a rich short cloth called 'Bheth'. He applies a kumkum mark on his forehead, takes 'pan supari' a sword in hand and a coconut with a pice and supari in his other hand. He puts on country shoes. Men accompanying the party are well dressed and walk very slowly. One of the young women holds in her hand a 'Divda', which is a shallow country lamp, burning with a cotton wick and sweet oil. The musketeers fire out shots in the air to show that the party goes for a marriage. This attracts the villagers.

When the party reaches the house of the bride, the bridegroom-to-be has to stand just at the entrance of the door. He is then welcomed by the female folk. The party led by the mother of the bride and her sisters, brothers, wives or cousins go to the door. The mother of the bride carries with her a jug full of pure water, some four earthen balls, a bowl full of wet kumkum and unbroken grains of rice. The bridegroom is welcomed by this jug of water of which is thrown just near his shoes meaning thereby to wash his feet, the earthen balls are thrown in four directions to signify that the devils are disposed off, and the wet kumkum is applied to his forehead with the third finger of the bride's mother's right hand. If the bride has no mother the, part of the mother is played by her brother's wife or aunt. If the

the bride's mother is a widow she is not allowed by the custom to welcome the bridegroom in this manner. In the mean time women of the bridegroom's party are busy singing songs with great fervour. Welcoming ceremony takes only ten minutes. The bride-groom is then taken in the house i.e. compound of the house. He is given a soft and distinguished seat under the mandap. Women of bridegroom's party are seated in the verandah. They make new acquaintances and after some time they sing songs. Soon the women of the bride's party gather together and begin to sing songs by way of reply. The males in the mean time are sitting in the compound under the mandap and are offered supari, cloves and cardamums. Father of the bridegroom is busy in giving his dues to the father or the uncle of the bride who represents his brother. This sum is previously fixed. So there is no difficulty as to settling it. It sometimes so happens that the bridegroom's father does not keep his promise. The result of this breach is nothing but a break in good relations. Sometimes it may end in a big family quarrel. The bride's father may refuse to celebrate the marriage. It may also end in an affray.

After finishing this bride's father goes to the place where the family priest is reciting mantras by the side of the bridegroom. While the bride's father is busy receiving his dues from the father of the bridegroom, the priest has already called the bride. She is brought from inside the house by her maternal uncle or her brother. In the absence of a maternal uncle a brother performs that duty. She is made to sit by the side of the bridegroom on an adjoining seat. As requested by the priest, the sister of the bridegroom ties up the ends of the garments of the bride and the bridegroom. In the meantime the father of the bride comes. The priest then calls the mother of the bride. Soon the sister of bride's father ties up the ends of the garments of her brother and her brother's wife. The meaning of this tying up ends business is that the union is complete and that they are one and that all that they do and think and give and accept is done with the consent of both. The priest's first business is to bless married couple and apply kumkum mark on their foreheads. The seats arranged in the Mandap are now occupied. The bride and the bridegroom sit facing the east, bride's father and bride's mother sit facing the north, the priest sits facing the bride and bridegroom. As soon as the blessing is over the priest asks the father and the mother of the bride to extend their hands to take water in their palms and to make a holy resolution (*sankalpa*) to offer their daughter in marriage to the bridegroom named so and so, son of such and such a gentleman and such and such by surname

that is the parents have to name the bridegroom. In the mean time he is reciting mantras. He then asks the parents to drop the water held in their palms into a small dish. He then asks the bridegroom to extend his hand and take some water and Tulsi leaf in his right hand palm. He asks the bride to hold out her right hand and keep her palm up and he asks the father and mother to take her hand and put it in the hand of the bridegroom with his palm up. All the while the priest is reciting mantras and gives instructions to all four. This ceremony ends as soon as the the priest asks the bridegroom to say 'Swasti'. The bridegroom being uneducated mispronounces it. The ceremony is known by the name of 'Kanya Dana'. The bride's parents then offer a brass dish, a brass bowl and a jug of brass to the bridegroom. After this the priest takes some pieces of cow dung cakes and ignites fire and feeds it with ghee with a wooden spoon which he has brought with him for the purpose. He requests the parents of the bride to put some sesamum in the ignited fire as an oblation. He also asks them to pour thrice some ghee in the fire with that wooden spoon. He then asks the bridegroom and the bride to put some sesamum in fire and then to give three (Ahatia) or oblations in the burning fire. They have not to recite any mantras because they do not know how to recite them, but the priest recites them on their behalf. The priests have so much forgotten their duty that they do not know exactly their business. The hosts or their 'Yajmanas' too are more illiterate than the priests and they do not notice the ignorance of the priests. Things therefore go on in the old rut. Greater importance is given to the outward show and not to carry real important rituals. Some priests take the advantage of these Babaris ignorance and finish off their business soon reciting hackneyed mantras. This ceremony takes about an hour because things are going on at a very slow speed. There is one thing important and it is that the priest who takes longer time in performing these ceremonies is considered very learned. The result is that the priest wastes away much of his time in giving instructions and doing sundry useless things.

After this the bride and the bridegroom are taken to the 'Chori'. There they are seated side by side and the priest ignites fire again and feeds it with ghee. A large number of young women gather together with their smiling and beautiful faces full of joy, mirth and life. They are whispering to one another, looking slyly and detecting some things which cannot be said or heard loudly or distinctly. They are making remarks and cracking jokes. The priest is all the while reciting his mantras. The priests of Babaris are *Sompaura* Brahmins who are the

inhabitants of Sindhpur in Gujrat. It is said, they formerly lived in Marwad. When Rabaris came and settled in Kathiawad they followed them and settled in Gujrat. The relation however is kept up and so they always attend Rabari marriages and get their dues. The due mentioned above is rupees five, half from the bride's father and half from that of the bridegroom's. The priest knows how to repeat certain mantras in praise of Ganapati, Sarawali, Vishnu, and Mahadev.

By the time he is reciting mantras and igniting fire and asking the bride and bridegroom to throw in that fire sesamum and ghee as oblations, it is time for lighting lamps. Bride's father and mother's presence is not necessary when these people are taken to the 'Chori', they therefore are allowed to mind their own business. They are freed from the tie-knot by the sister of the father of the bride. They go into the house and win over the guests by their talks and hospitality as much as they can. The males are chatting. Females are singing songs attracting a number of hearers who hear their songs (*latanas*) which reflect their wit and cunning, their power of passing sour but soothing remarks, their power of observing a particular side of life and sometimes of abusing jocularly the opposite party. Often these abusive songs lead to quarrels and cause a good deal of annoyance to both the parties. Slowly and slowly their zeal-powers are exhausted and they feel tired.

It is about ten or twelve women who sing songs. By 10 p.m. the marriage ceremony is declared to be over. The bride and bridegroom are taken in the house to pay their respects to the family diety, the parents of the bride and bridegroom and other elderly people in the house. They are blessed in return. The couple bows down at the feet of elderly people and the family diety, place a coconut at their feet.

Dinner. By this time the family cooks have prepared a rich dinner. And as soon as the marriage ceremony is declared to have been over the, guests are called to dinner. Ghee is very sumptuously served. There is then a competition of drinking ghee. Some of Rabaris are able to drink ten to fifteen pounds of ghee. There is a great noise and hubbub while the dinner is being served and pertaken. The most costly item of dinner expenditure is ghee and that marriage dinner is considered best who serves ghee as freely as water. If we ask how much ghee they require in a marriage dinner, they will tell us that they require eight to ten maunds. The principle things they prepare are cooked rice, and grams. Ghee and sugar are the other requisites of a good

dinner. The time they take is sometimes a very long and they finish their dinner at midnight or some times even after midnight. Men and women are seated and served together.

They return to the 'Uttara' where females sing songs in low and hushed voices. Bride is not sent to the 'Uttara' with the party.

In the morning the people of the bridegroom's party begin to make preparations for starting homewards. Bride's people also begin to make preparations to send her with her husband. Somehow or other the day that rises is very sad. There are certain factors which count. The exhaustion of the previous day, the fact that the marriage day which was so far away is now come and gone, that the dear daughter is to be sent to her father-in-law's house for good. She is going to be an inmate of some body else's family. The bridegroom party people have served their purpose and so they are so eager to return to the village with the young daughter-in law.

Soon it is noon time. The honoured guests are called to dinner. The mother of the bride packs the clothes and other things to be given to her daughter. The rich clothes and a silver 'Kimb' which is put on the leg, an ear ring like 'Mumna' to be put on in the ear, a silver 'Kala' to be put on the waist, a Patti—a hollow bead of gold as big as a pea with a hole in it. A black woollen lace is pushed through that hole or Patti worn round the neck. It enhances the beauty of the wearer very much. These are the principal ornaments which are offered to the daughter by the parents. The value of these ornaments depends on the financial condition of the father of a bride. There is no hard and fast rule that ornaments worth so many rupees must be offered to a daughter.

As said above the bridegroom's party starts by the evening. If the bride is very young she is not sent with the bridegroom's party. She is however, sent when she is fourteen or fifteen years of age. Otherwise she is sent with the bridegroom's party. The relatives of bride all gather together to bid farewell to the young bride, if she is accompanying the party. Otherwise so many relatives do not gather to give a hearty send off to the party. The scene is really very pathetic. The father, the elder and younger brothers, uncles, cousins and other near relatives pay respects to their daughter taking off their turbans from their heads and with tears of separation in their eyes. The females of the bridegroom party are very jubilant and they sing songs smelling a sort of victory or some great achievement. The brothers and cousins of a bride of rather tender age look at these women with eyes

of hatred meaning as if they are to taking away their dear sister away from them. They are sometimes very angry with them for their depriving them of their sister. After this leave-taking the father of the bridegroom asks leave of the father of the bride and takes a note of the great hospitality shown to them and the great obligation he has done by thus celebrating marriage of his daughter with his son. The father of the bride folds his hands and says that he has done nothing extraordinary and that they are now allowed to start on their journey homewards.

The women and children sit in separate carts and males in separate carts. Sometimes the males do not sit in the cart. Just when they are beginning their journey, the bridegroom and his bride are seated in a cart together on soft quilts spread in it. The wheel of the cart of the bride-groom is to be oiled wishing thereby a easy journey. It is oiled with sweet oil. Just before oiling the wheel a coconut is placed under or in the way of the wheel. So that when the wheel begins to move it is broken into pieces meaning to appease evil spirits by offering a coconut which represents a head of a man. These pieces are taken up some of them are given to the bride in her 'Chundadi' and others are distributed amongst young children. By this time the sun is setting in the west. The piper and the drummer begin to play and beat the drum filling the air with the sweet voice of their music. The people of the village begin to say that the marriage party, generally known by the name of 'Jan' has started after taking leave of the bride's father. The bride's father and mother and her other relatives who have gone to the outskirts of the village to bid good-bye to the marriage party now return home with heavy hearts and sad faces; drooping gait and talking about the merits and demerits of the guests. The father and mother, however, do not take part in these talks because they feel the pangs of separation.

The bride's people return to their homes. Slowly and slowly the bridegroom's party goes away and away from the bride's village.

The young bride stays with her new relatives for a few days. Her brother, her uncle or if she has no brother or uncle the father of the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom's father and requests him to send her. Generally speaking the father-in-law does not take any objection and accepts the request. She returns quite changed to the house of her father. She has already known something of the outside world, the bigger world, the natures of different men and women and also how to deal with them. She

stays with her father for a month or two according to the wishes of her father-in-law.

Soon she is called away by her father-in-law. Generally her husband goes to take her back. The father sends her back. He gives her three clothes, the upper garment, a bodice and a cloth to serve as a petticoat. This time the young wife stays at her father-in-law's house for a pretty long period. The father sends some body to invite and take her to his house. The father-in-law sends her if she can be spared. This time she stays with her parents for a short time and having spent some days with her parents, brothers and sisters she returns to her father-in-law's house. During this second stay, she looks as if she is a person of some other house. She has already contracted relations and friendship with other people and it being new appears sometimes sweet. This time her father gives her some gifts in the form of clothes and sweets as usual. In this way she becomes quite familiar with her father-in-law's people. She is now completely an inmate of other household. Her sympathies however, do not undergo any change. Her parents and her brothers and sisters are equally dear to her.

First Pregnancy. In the course of two or three years she becomes pregnant. The information is sent to her parents as soon as it is a settled fact that she carries. The father requests the father-in-law to send her to his house for the first delivery. The father-in-law consults his wife and other near elderly relations. It rests completely on the sweet will of the father-in-law whether he should accept the invitation or the request of the young wife's father. If the relations between these two families are very good and not strained, he sends the young wife to her father's house and thus satisfies him. Otherwise the young wife gives birth to her first child at the house of her father-in-law. They do not send for a physician or a doctor at the time of delivery. The elderly woman in the house of the neighbourhood does not require the help of a mid-wife. She does the work of a mid-wife or a doctor herself. Rabari women being accustomed to outdoor generally and rugged life does not get any complications which other women of her age of other Communities are found to suffer from. She bears every thing quite boldly. For some days after delivery she does not do any work in the household. She is rather exempted from her duties. For twelve days she enjoys her rest. Soon after she resumes her household duties.

On the sixth day there is a custom in Rabari community like all other communities to worship 'Chhathi' or Vidhatri. But the custom is not so systematically followed. Red earth is made wet

and its water is sprinkled near the bed of the young mother and spread in is quadrilateral. On it two wooden seats are placed if they are to be had. Otherwise two pieces of wood are improvised and a small earthen bowl full of wet kumkum and a piece of thin wood or a bamboo is placed to serve as a pen. Seven leaves of pipplal tree are placed with seven leaves of Aso-palay and Mango trees. On a piece of paper a cradle is roughly drawn with woman sitting by its side with a child in her lap. On one side Vidhatri is shown riding an elephant.

On the twelfth day Namkaran ceremony is generally performed. In Rabaris no ceremony as such is performed because the child if it happens to be a male child is called a 'Gago' or if it happens to be a female child it is called 'Gagi'. The meanings of these two words are son and daughter. Only when the Barot or the keeper of pedigree pays his annual visit to the house and when he inquires about new births in the family he is shown the young child and he gives it a name. He gives that name and writes it down in his 'Book' specially meant for writing down the names of the family. The Barot moves about from place to place paying visits to Rabari families, and keeps their pedigrees, notes the death in the family. For all this he is held in high respect by Rabaris; he is paid his dues i.e. a rupee per birth and for writing it down in his book, and for his service (this sort of service... i.e. showing how they stand in relation to other Rabaris and that whether a particular family can exchange, give or take daughters of certain families or not) he is given a rupee per his annual visit. It does not matter whether there are any new births in the family or not. These Barots belong to one family who had accompanied Rabari to Kathiawad. And for this purpose also they maintain a good relation with the Rabaris. He gets a coconut and a pound of wheat in addition to his rupee if the child newly born is a son.

If the young mother has delivered the child at the house of her father-in-law, her father goes to her after she has bathed and is moving about in the house and offers as present a country frock, a small country cap, a suit of clothes to his daughter and if he is rich, a silver bangle for the tiny hand of the child. He stays with his daughter for a day and is treated very hospitably. Second time when that young woman becomes pregnant her father does not call her or request her father-in-law to send her to his house for delivery. He also does not go to her afterwards to offer any clothes as gifts for the young child.

When the child is one month old it is taken to the Goddess to pay its respects to her. If the family to which she belongs stays

very far away from the temple-village of the Goddess, this ceremony is performed at home and it (child) is made to pay its respects to the family goddess by lighting a ghee lamp. The parents of the child fulfil the vow they have taken, if at all they have taken one and the child is weighed against dates or sugar and that sugar or dates are given away to beggars or poor mendicants.

Education. Rabaris are very backward in education. The chief reason is that they are not living a town life. They are living a nomadic life. So leading a nomadic life and sending children to school cannot go together. If we see we find that all nomadic tribes are very backward in education. The second reason which can be attributed is that there is no one among Rabaris who has gone to any school. They believe that he is an educated man who can very well look after the cattle and keep them well and make a good profit out of selling milk or ghee. So the education that they give to their children is very practical. When the child is five years of age it begins to make or form friendship with young calves and ewes if any. By the time it is seven the friendship is very fast, the calves like to play with them, follow them or chase them or like to be chased by them. They look to each other not as any thing else but as chums. The boy or a girl with a piece of small stick perhaps the piece of its father's stick moves about naked or half naked about the compound in company of calves. Sometimes driving them, sometimes standing by them in the sun or sometimes sitting near them or keeping them as their proper support. In the course of time begins to be conversant with the language of the calves and buffaloes. Talking in a speechless language of eyes and ears. They know how to make certain special sounds and articulations which the calves and buffaloes very well understand. By the time he or she becomes ten or twelve years of age, the boy or the girl bears half the burden of his father or her mother's work. Soon after a year or two the parents of a girl begin to look after a suitable bride-groom for the daughter. They do not worry so much about finding out a suitable bride for their son. He is allowed to grow old and to learn the work of managing cattle.

Life of a Rabari (man). He gets up early in the morning and begins to milk the buffaloes. This takes about an hour or two. All depends on the number of buffaloes he possesses. As soon as the milking business is finished, the buffaloes are driven away to the pastures. When he follows them he takes a little breakfast and the feed for the mid-day meal in the forest or grazing

ground. He also takes with him his pipe and tobacco stock. The house dog also follows him. He carries with him some cloth of a very coarse stuff on his back a thick stick and puts on a very thick and heavy pair of shoes. He drives away the buffaloes and as soon as he comes to pastures he leaves them to graze at will. In the meantime he either moves about or sits down under the shade of the tree and takes rest. By mid-day he sits down to take his meal which consists only of a thick bread, a chilly and onion ball and whey. The taste with which he eats sitting under a tree is so nice and the natural appetite with which he eats is so keen that the onlooker would envy him and would wish to partake of his meal if invited. He then moves about here and there and smokes his chillim. By the evening he returns with his buffaloes to his village, waters them and after some time by sun set he milks them. He then gives them some hay to eat and allows them to move about leisurely in the compound or allows them to sit down and take rest. In the mean time he sits down to take his hot supper. Breads of bajri or jwari, some pulse or vegetable and some hetch petch, and milk. After this he takes rest in the compound lying on the light bedsteads. When it is about ten or so, he drives away his buffaloes to the grazing ground if there are good pastures. In this case he passes his night in the open in the pastures and sleeps with his thick coarse cloth on. The buffaloes are grazing in the pastures. If there are no good pastures he will not drive his buffaloes but allow them to remain in the fold or enclosure untied. Some day of a week he goes out to buy fodder for the buffaloes such as cotton seeds. His clothes are as simple as his food. He puts on a country breeches sometimes a coarse and rough Dhoti. He puts on a piece of short thin cloth on his back. He does not put on a Bundi or any other thing in ordinary days except when he has to go on some important business. He puts on shoes invariably and keeps a stick in his hand. He wears good monstaches and often a beard. He puts on a thick silver "kada" on his right wrist.

Life of a Rabari (woman). Rabaris like other nomadic communities do not believe in purdah. The women like their husband get up early in the morning and begin their life by watering buffaloes, and grinding some corn for daily consumption. They also help their husband in milking the buffaloes. By the time the buffaloes are milked they begin to prepare the morning breakfast for the family. Leaves are prepared and the males sit down to a breakfast. She does not prepare any vegetables now but she serves whey and some pickles. After the males go out with the buffaloes they sit down to prepare cow dung cakes after fetching water from the adjoining well

sufficient for the daily purposes. By the time she finishes her preparing cow dung cakes it is about mid-day. She then cooks for her and her children. She takes her dinner with other women in the family and with the children. If there are many women in the house one of them goes to the adjoining village to sell milk with her infants, in company of other Bahari women. When she returns from the village she makes necessary purchases for the family and for its daily use. It is a nice scene to see these Bahari women walking leisurely along the road side or going with full speed with their female friends. Some times they are talking and chit-chatting so loudly that the passers-by can very well follow them. They return at about one or two p.m. in the afternoon. Then they take their mid-day meal. After this they spin or churn and prepare ghee for sometime or fetch water from the adjoining well or river for the household and the buffaloes to drink in the evening. They also look after the calves, wash them, water them and tend them. So also they look after the upkeep of the house, their children, sewing torn clothes and other sundry work. In the mean time it is evening and her husband and her husband's brothers if any, return home with their buffaloes. The watering of the buffaloes then goes on and after that they begin to milch them. In the mean while it is sunset she kindles a ghee lamp in front of the family diety and offers salutations to her. All the members of the family offer their salutations to the family diety without fail. She then begins to prepare the supper. In a short time it is ready. So the male members and the children all sit down to it. As mentioned above it is a full meal. All take the meal together, pressing one another to take more of leaves, pulses, or vegetable and last but not the least ghee and milk. We can have a good idea at this time, what sort of happy life these people can live and enjoy. The vessels are cleansed and the things are again placed in their proper places. And if the master of the house is not to go out for grazing the buffaloes the beds are spread and all retire to rest.

Their houses. The houses in which the Baharis live are generally one roomed houses. Verandah is big. On both the ends of verandah there are elevated seats (Otalas). The guests are made to sit there or the people sleep on them at night. The room is spacious. It contains the store house, kitchen, bed-room all in one. The walls are mud walls and they are well plastered with mud. This makes the house look very decent. The roofing is generally not very good. The sky can be seen through it from many places. It is a question as to what should they be doing or how must they be managing to remain undrench-

ed in the rains. We cannot see any cleanliness or order in the house. As said above Rabaris are living in groups. So they live together in the same locality. Their big compounds are separated by low walls. Rabaris cannot do without big compounds. These serve as enclosures for their buffaloes. Rabaris like to live in the open and therefore they seldom use the room above mentioned. Of course they take their dinner and meals in that room but sleeping and sitting accommodations are made in the big and spacious compound. Cots are kept whereon they spread soft thin quilts and offer these cots as seats to the guests.

Their Nature. Rabaris live in great harmony. The internal relations are always very friendly and cordial. They are very helpful and sincere people. They are always ready to help people in the time of illness. They are also ready to pass sleepless nights to serve any body who is ill. One thing important is that, they never consult doctors or physicians. They have got an implicit faith in the Goddess and they believe that by taking a vow of 'Manta' as it is called the man suffering from some disease will be surely cured. Of course they use native and well tried herbs of herbal medicines *e.g.* the leaves of Neem tree or Billi tree. They also believe in burning the part giving pain with the help of a thin, very thin stick or a small thin rod of iron, copper or of silver. They have great faith in chewing certain jungle tree leaves. They believe that thereby the disease is cured.

Death rites. When any Rabari dies in a village all the Rabaris think it their sacred duty to go to the house of the person deceased to render help and to console the people of the family. They act as brothers. They carry the dead to the cemetery or the burning ground and thus they pay their respects to the dead. No Brahman is called to perform ceremony at the time of the burning of the dead body. The son or a near relative applies fire to the dead body on the pile of wood and all pay their respect and express the deepest grief and sorrow at the sad death of a brother or sister whoever he or she may be. They do not wait till the whole body is consumed by fire. As soon as it is half burnt they return home, after taking a bath in the adjoining river. The custom is that all have to go to the house of the deceased. Whence they go to their homes. In the course of ten days they go and sit by the head man of the family and console him. Generally speaking, the near relatives are duty bound to go and offer their consolations to the family. Relatives living in some adjoining villages also come to offer their consolations to the head of the family. They are to be fed and treated well. After staying there for a day they return

home. The members of the same family get their heads and moustaches shaved on the seventh day as a mark of respect for the death. On the twelfth and thirteenth day the relatives are given a sweet dinner. Now there is such a custom that if the death of a young man or woman has taken place the relatives who are senior to the deceased do not partake of the dinner. But if it happens to be of an old man or woman, the death is considered to be a happy death and therefore not worth so much mourning. If a very old man or a woman dies the mourners are not allowed to go home without being forced to take a sweet dinner just after returning from the burning ground with their wet clothes on. If a young child dies no fuss of any sort is made. It is taken to the burning ground and if it is a quite young that is to say only of a few months old it is hurled, otherwise it is burnt like others. Milk is offered to dogs or grains of corn to birds like doves etc. to satisfy the soul of the young child.

Religious beliefs. Rabaris are goddess worshippers. The goddess they worship is called Mammal. It is believed that she is mute and never speaks. Mammal is the goddess Parvati in her angry mood towards God Shiva. When, it is said that when God Shiva went away to practise penances Parvati did not approve of his going away to take Samadhi and determined to remain mute or silent. She never uttered a single word. Her priests are expected not to speak. They are called Moghas or the mutes. They are very handsome, full robust people with fine beards and are almost respected as next to the goddess. They are considered as holy men. The story as to how the Rabaris took to this goddess worship is rather a romantic story. It runs as follows:—There was carpenter whose name was Zalan. He was dumb from his very birth. His father tried and tried to make him free from this curse. He consulted many physicians and other wise men but in vain. When the boy was twelve years of age a Sadhu visited the place of the father of Zalan, and requested the old carpenter to give away his son to him when being consulted as to what he should do in order to make his son able to speak. The old father first of all did not like the offer but at last consented. Accordingly he was taken away by the Sadhu and in the course of time he was cured of his natural defect. He became a great devotee of the goddess Parvati while living with that Sadhu in the Himalayas. A time came when he was asked by the goddess to return to his father. But this devotee consented to go only if she should consent to go along with him. She consented on one condition

* For this information I am thankful to my Professor Dr. Ghurye.

that she would return to the Himalayas and her image would disappear from his satchel if he by mistake or any chance should place that satchel on the ground. Zalan started on his journey taking leave of his Guru, the Sadhu. It so happened that he was travelling on foot and when he was just going to take his bath in a river on the way by the side of a village, some village children chasing a dog came to the place where Zalan was taking his bath having kept his satchel hanging on a bough near by. The dog wishing to take some eatable, that he suspected in that satchel jumped at it and fell it on the ground. Zalan returned from his bath and found to his greatest grief and sorrow that the satchel was lying on the ground and the image (wooden image of the goddess) was no more in the satchel. He determined to die in the presence of certain men and women of the village who were bathing there and washing their clothes. The village people gathered together and requested him most humbly not to commit suicide. But he was not to be moved. He consented on one condition. The condition was if they accept the goddess as their family goddess and worship her as her true devotees. He began to practice penances there and there wishing that the goddess must give him the lost image. After some days the goddess was kind enough to show mercy and to the great wonder of the people, an image of the same sort and that of same wood of the same kind was found again from the same satchel. Zalan was thenceforth considered a great devotee and worshipper of the goddess and people settled on him the permanent position of their head priest. He lived a long life and when he died he nominated a disciple of his to be his successor on the Gadi as the head priest of the (rabaris). These people by their ways of life were afterwards called Rabaris. Thus Rabaris accepted the goddess Mammai as their caste goddess. The priest in the course of time adopted the customs and manners of Rabaris accepted their daughters and gave his daughters in marriage to the Rabaris. In short he became one of the Rabaris. Following are the principal villages in Kāthiawad in which the temples dedicated to Mammai Mata are situated :—Balef, Seel, Oddad, Chorwad and Shikodar.

There is a temple in Dudhrej near Wadhwan which is considered to be a place of pilgrimage. The Sadhu Bawa of the place was originally a Rabari goddess worshipper but afterwards he believed in all gods and goddesses. He has a temple in which there are all gods, Mammai is also occupying a place along with other gods. Rabaris have to pay an yearly tax. Still however, the Rabaris of Halar and Sorath do not put so much faith in Dudhrej Mandir as they do in Mammai.

Fairs are being held in the above mentioned places in Navratri holidays in the month of Ashwin, in the month of Magh Chaitra and Ashad. Hundreds of Rabaris gather together from all parts of the country to offer their respects to Mummai and to consult her on various social and other worldly knotty questions. They gather together in the temple generally called 'Math'. By the sunset ghee lamps are lit and the songs in praise of the goddess are being sung by a number of devotees proficient in singing praises. Soon the priest known by the name of Bhuwa begins to shake and the people seeing him shaking sing all the more loudly to see that Matiji enters his body in her full spirit. More loudly the people are found singing the Bhuwa shakes his whole body. Other people who are not singing cry out 'Jai Matiji' 'Jay Mammaji Matiji Jay' and so on. Soon there is a great hush on the assembled concourse. People some what in awe and some what out of devotion and reverence for the Bhuwa keep quiet. 'In no time Bhuwa body is seen shaking vigorously. Those Rabaris who have to consult Matiji now go forward and ask the reason or cause of their difficulty or trouble or the disease of some relative. The reason why a particular son or brother or a sister or a daughter does not get any children, why buffaloes of a certain Rahari which are lost for a long time are not still found and such other sundry questions of not very great importance are being asked. The Bhuwa answers them each individually. The way or the system is that after a particular person who has asked a question receives his answer either or a second man may ask. So good order is preserved. The Bhuwa sometimes gives such answers that we have to admit that he though in an un-conscious state appears to be omniscient. This asking of questions lasts for an hour or two. After that it being high time the Bhuwa comes to his normal condition. He looks very much exhausted. He asks for a cup of water. He drinks it. The whole gathering then disperses. The way of Bhuwa's answering is very queer. As said previously he resorts to yes and no system of answering questions. This yes and no answer depends on the even or odd number of grains of jouri. He takes up with closed eyes grains offered to him by a man sitting by and then gives them in the hand of others. In this too, we find that there is an ability of seeing things with closed eyes. The wordless devotional songs of Rabaris called 'Sarjus.' They are unique in a way, these songs are the songs in which there are no consonants at all only there are all vowels. If we ask them the meaning of their songs they will not tell it. They tell us that all these songs are praises of Matiji and nothing else. The peculiar way in which they sing is also very strange and interesting.

They say that it is sinful to bring before the public their sacred songs of the Goddess. It is their strong belief that the Mother will be very angry and very much troubled at heart if her songs pass from the believers to non-believers. The singers are extending the vowels according to the rule and the songs create a weird influence on the hearers. It is believed that those who know how to sing these 'sarjus' are favoured sons of Mātaji and that Mātaji is completely pleased with them. Others who go to learn how to sing 'sarju' realise that it is a very difficult business. The Bhuwā is consulted as to who is the recipient of the divine favour and if recommended on therefore initiated and is taught how to sing 'Sarju'.

On the next day of the fair the Rabaris who have come from long distances are invited to dinner. The money required for this dinner is public money collected before hand by the Bhuwā. The sum spent is already paid up by the priest.

Dhupedo. When such a fair is to be held the priest and his friends gather together in a meeting and the question is talked over. Accordingly it is decided that on a particular day approximately a month and half before the day of the fair four men are sent out to give invitations to all the Rabaris on behalf of the Bhuwā and Mammā Mātā that they are to be present at the temple on such and such a day. This invitation giving business from village to village is called 'Dhupedo'. The party is guided by a responsible man whose duty it is to give invitation to the Rabari householder and in return to exact the tax which every Rabari householder has to pay without any hesitation or any delay. A fixed sum of two rupees is to be exacted from each house-holder. In case the man is out and there is the wife of that man is at home. It is the duty of the wife to pay up the sum. These Dhupedawālas are so strict that if the man is a very poor man and has no money to pay they are said to be taking away a vessel from the house and that vessel is pawned at a neighbour's place, money is realised and the sum of two rupees is thus exacted. Dinner is taken at the house of any good Rabari. The Rabari when able to pay the sum taken on loan he gets back his vessel. Thus a large sum is collected. The dinner expenses are defrayed from this sum. On the other hand the sum is so large that the priest can enjoy for the rest of the time of the year.

'*Kalas*'. Often it so happens that a man even after enjoying a married life of a long duration does not get any issue. The goddess is consulted and the remedy is shown. In case the woman bears a child she has to offer a certain sum of money to the Bhuwā

and has to fulfill her vow. He then invites all his relatives and fulfills the vow taken by him. This fulfilling of the vow is called a 'Kalas Bharvo.' When the goddess is worshipped and the vow is fulfilled, the relatives are given a rich dinner. The next day either in the morning or in the evening the guests return to their homes. In this dinner too, ghee is the principal item which is served open handedly.

Chhelan. 'Chhelan Pavan' is also one of their principal customs. If a particular Rabari has lost his buffalo or if some of the dear relative recovers from illness or one gets a good profit in selling ghee he propitiates goddess Mammal by inviting some of her praise-singers-Singers of Sarju to dinner. The man in question has taken a vow or a 'māntā' as it is called. He, accordingly invites some of these favoured praise-singers of Mataji on the previous day. They very willingly consent to go to his house at the specified time and thus accept the invitation. Next day these people some four men, gather at a particular house of one of the devotees. They start for the house of the host together, singing Sarjus. Thus informing people that they are invited at a particular place and at the same time singing songs in praise of Mataji. They are very well received and are seated on cots with quilts spread on them. As soon as the dinner is ready they are called in. The dinner chiefly consists of rice and ghee and sugar. Ghee is served freely and these men who have come as guests are able to drink sometimes ten to twelve pounds of ghee. They are made to dine at ease. It is believed that the more they dine and the more they enjoy dinner, more the Mataji is pleased. After the dinner they are given supari and their clothes especially Bundles are coloured red with kunku smeared hands of the host. This is the sign that they had gone to take their dinner at a particular man or to say that they were invited as Chhelan.

The temple of the Goddess is not like other temples of Shanker or Vishnu or like other Gods. It is primarily a very big hall. In that big hall just in the centre there is a wooden frame with four well carved wooden pillars on all its four sides. Between these pillars there are carved arches. Three sides of this wooden frame are open but the fourth is not left open. There is a purpose in this. It serves as a back. On the top there is a dome of wood and on that dome there is a small wooden tapering jug. The flags of different colours are posted on that frame. So also bunches of fresh leaves are to be found there. On four quarters of the wooden frame there are four big tied up bunches of peacock feathers called Pichhi. Peacock is considered to be a favourite bird of the

goddess. Just on the wooden surface of the frame there is a big cushion like 'gadi' and on it lies a wooden image of Mātaji very roughly carved. By its side there are a number of shells and conches. Along with the worship of the image of the Goddess these shells and conches are also worshipped every day with water and kumku. The gadi is cleared with the help of a bunch of peacock feathers which is kept out of that frame. The four bundles are kept always in the four corners of the frame. The 'Bhuwa' worships the Mātaji both morning and evening when an atri or 'arastri' or waving of lights about the goddess is made. At this time conch is blown and gongs and bells are played. A number of Mātaji's devotees gather for the darshan. The big room is only used when a large number of devotees gather at the time of some festival. On these walls we find pictures drawn by village painters. They are generally red and yellow in colour and describe mythological incidents. The Bhuwa puts on the same dress as other Rabaris. He has enough money to spend and therefore lives happy life. He is able to maintain buffaloes, horses, etc., and lives like a petty darbar. They contribute their time towards maintaining the Bhuwa.

The worship of the males is prevalent in Rabari families. Especially those who have been killed in a fight or by snake bite become very powerful after their death. They require their descendants to carve out a stone image for them and the image to be worshipped on the anniversary day of the death and 'Kali Chaturdashi.' The newly married couple is to be taken to that stone image called 'Palia' and made to pay due respects to that ancestor. The stone image is generally a 'zwar' or a rider with a lance in his hand. The horse is a standing or a running horse. We come across many such stone images on the outskirts of villages. They are seen red because they are worshipped with Gulal on 'Kali Chaturdashi', the day preceding Diwali and on Dashrah, i.e. tenth of the bright half of the month of Ashwin. It is believed that these forefathers take a great interest in the welfare of their descendants. They are at the same time considered to be great disciplinarians or they wish that they should be respected as if they are living. It is said that some of them are such that if a young wife of the Rabari family does not veil her face while passing by their stone images she is taken to task for her want of good manners. People approach them with requests through priests when they do not get children. 'Shasiri' Path or Chandi Path is being read by the priests and this spirit of their forefather enters the body of some one and gives out the real cause of the difficulty. He also shows the way out of the fix

after showing that he is very angry with them but they being his children he takes pity on them and so shows the real way out of the difficulty. In some instances the remedy shown if properly followed bears good fruits. These forefathers are called 'Surdhan Dada'. Rabaris also believe in a semi-god known by the name of '*Vachhada Dada*.' The duty of this deity is to preserve the cattle of these nomadic people. So he is approached when any Rabari loses his buffalo. He promises 'alcaivedye' to him say a 'Lapsi', a wheat coarse flour preparation which is made by frying it in ghee and adding gud water to it. 'Gbughri' wheat cooked in water and mixed with ghee is the principal to Vachhada-Dada with ghee lamp on the place the water for stand 'Mantas' taken by Rabaris. This is offered Vachhada-Dada finds out the lost buffalo for this devotee. The story of this Vachhada-Dada is as follows:—Once upon a time there was a rajput youth bright and brilliant, bold and fearless. He was going with his party as a bridegroom to the house of the bride. As it used to happen so often that the enemies used to fall upon the shepherds and putting them to flight, used to carry away the cattle of the village. Now when the bridegroom's party was going, it so happened that the shepherds came running in the village crying for help saying that the enemies were carrying away the cattle of the village. This bold Rajput bridegroom heard this cry and without waiting for any other cry, changed his way and his horse and asked the shepherds to show him the enemies. He believed that it was his chief and first duty to rescue cows from the hands of wicked men. He heard in the cry of the shepherds the call of his life's mission. He rode off and soon overtook the enemies. He had had a dreadful battle with the enemies in which he was mortally wounded but he was able to rescue the cattle and was able to put the enemies to flight, at the cost of his life. He died soon. In the next birth the same thing happened. He rescued the cattle but lost his life in the fight with the enemies. This was repeated seven times in seven births. At last the God Sun was so much pleased with his bravery and courage, the nobility of his heart and self sacrifice, that he made him a semi-god. Now he is a preserving and protecting god of cattle. There are many carved images in different villages said to be raised in honour of this Vachhada-Dada. He is worshipped by Shepherds, Rabaris, Charans, Ahirs and other communities who look after cattle. People believe that God Sun always keeps Vachhada-Dada who wages the most dreadful and bloody battle with the demons of darkness every morning. So much blood is spilt that when it flows and falls down, the clouds of the morning are blood red on account of the blood of the demons of darkness.

Some of the prominent rabari traits. Rabaris are very simple and economical in the way of their life. They can do with a loaf and a glass of whey. They do not stand in need of pulses or vegetables. They do not like rich food. Still however, when any guest pays a visit they treat him in the right royal manner. They believe that one may live in whichever way one likes in private life but one must live well and honourably in society. So also in the question of clothes. They wear simple, cheap and durable dress. Their household possessions are very few. They cannot afford to keep so many unimportant things simply for the sake of show. They are fond of their buffaloes. Their richness or prosperity can be judged from their numbers of buffaloes. They are stout and strong and so are their children. Their health is their wealth. Their simplicity, sincerity, good-naturedness and kind-heartedness are their greatest virtues. They will always respect Brahmins, sisters and their children and will do any thing for their friends and relations.

Widow marriage is allowable. It is however, desired that a widow should remain in the family of her deceased husband. For this purpose they have made certain hard and fast rules. If the deceased has a younger brother the widow must or should accept him as her new husband. This custom is found prevailing amongst Bhurwada. If the deceased man has no brothers she (widow) may pass in the family of the cousins. But the deceased has no near or distant relative and if the widow wishes to enjoy a married life she is allowed to pass in other family on two conditions. One condition is that she renounces all rights of ownership on her deceased husband's property. The second condition is that the man who wishes to remarry this widow has to pay a sum of rupees one hundred and thirty six to the head of the family of her deceased husband. There are some women who after becoming a widow do not wish to remarry. Such women are respected in the community and become the heir of her husbands' property. If a widow wishes to pass to some other family the head of the family of the deceased will ask her to go without taking the children by her deceased husband. They remain in his family.

So far the inheritance question is concerned, a son inherits his father's property. In the absence of a son his (deceased's brother) inherits his property. If he has no brother the inheritance passes to the nephew i.e. his sister's son.

Their dress is very simple. The Males put on a surwal, a bundi with a red strap of cloth specially sewn at the back of this

bundi. All young men have this piece of cloth to show that they are young. The old men do not keep any piece of coloured cloth at the back. This red-coloured strap is called 'Punthian'. Females put on a head dress which also serves as a back cloth. A coarse cloth Odhani, a bodice and a thick red cloth tied round her waist serves as petticoat. Young women at the house of their father-in-law essentially put on red cloth as a petticoat. When they go to the house of their fathers they put on white one. As to ornaments, men put on 'Kada' of silver and rings in the fingers. Women put on silver 'Kada' in their wrists, 'Abhrami' with a red woolen thread round their necks, silver ear rings in their ears. It is a custom to have ears and nose punctured. Silver tubes are pushed in these holes and slowly and slowly the holes are made wider and wider. They put on red beads round their necks. They put on a 'Kambi' in their legs. They put on 'tholian' and 'lollan' and 'mumnu' in their ears. 'Tholian' in the middle part of the ear, mumnu in the upper part of the ear and lollyan in the lower ear. All these are made of silver. Children put on 'Halar' in their necks and 'kadli' on their legs, and silver thick kadli on their legs, and silver thick kadli on their wrists. Children are not troubled with these ornaments they are allowed to move freely about.

Language. Baharis speak Gujrati language. There is however, a marked difference in the use of certain words. Some of them are quite peculiar. Following are some of the words they speak. Corresponding words are also given with their words. We can compare them well.

Been for Behn
Keem for Kem
Jeen for Jen
Kajalya for Kajal
Ganya for Gem

Generally speaking they always change अ to इ

e.g. बाढो = बढो बाढो = बाढो blanket

of which पोढो = पढो

abuses गानु = गार

iron bandaged stick कडीबाडी = कडीपारी

They change final अ of nouns to उ to make it plural

e.g. story कण = कणु

Information कवर = कवर

legs कण = कणु

ए in the beginning of a word is change to ऐ.

so एम = ऐम

येन = ऐन

येम = ऐम

Final ऐ of Pronouns is changed to ऐ

ममै = ममै

तमै = तमै

Rabaris swear by the goddess Mammal Mata. When they meet one another on the road side or at their homes they greet one another by saying "Ram, Ram".

They believe in evil eye. In such incidents they ask the Bhawa of Mammal Mataji to go to their house or they take the person who has been under the influence of an evil spirit and get the spirit exercised.

Their economic condition is day by day getting worse. Many reasons can be assigned for this. Cattle rearing business has been very troublesome and hard. The favourable circumstances which existed before forty or fifty years are changing very fast. For the worse states have no faith in cattle rearing business or unfortunately for the country they are very careless towards it. They have understood that it is more advantageous to put all possible hands under cultivation. Second thing they have realised is that no money without taxation. Thus all lands have been either put under cultivation or allowed to remain fallow and they have levied heavy taxes on the graziers. These taxes are so heavy that it is very difficult for the Rabaris to pay them. They have therefore to go to the forests of Gir or Barda for pastures. There too, the states destroy forests for the extension of railways. In this way we can see that they are hard pressed from all sides. They therefore are slowly and slowly giving up their cattle rearing business and taking to either agriculture or labour. In these fields there is either overcrowding or the troubles and difficulties all their own to be faced. As agriculturists they cultivate others' lands on a yearly settled sum. Here too, they are not happy.

As people in other walks of life are hard pressed so also the present time has reduced the Rabaris to a miserable condition. They were once a cause of pride to Kathiawad. Now we find that they are being hard pressed. Their speedy dromedaries and their stout good looking and profusely milk-giving buffaloes are fast disappearing. They are now swelling the ranks of poor cultivators and work-seeking labourers.

I am sincerely thankful to the University of Bombay for giving me a financial help to carry on this piece of research.

RABARI SONGS

1

There are cardamum trees in my compound. Cardamum crop
is the richest this year.

Naranbhai, please, stop your son, that he may not shake the
branches violently.

If he does so let him do so, for know he is my fondled son.

If he is your fondled son, marry him with some beautiful girl.

We do not care if he is the Prince of Idar.

Alabhai, please, stop your son, that he may not shake violently
their branches.

If he does so, let him do so, for, he is my fondled son,

If he is your fondled son, marry him with some beautiful girl.

We do not care if he is the Prince of Idar.

2

God ganesha sits leaning the main wall of the house and by him
sits a fairy,

That fairy is the wife of Amarabhai. She is the wife of Ama-
rabhai and she has started a quarrel with her husband just on
the occasion of marriage.

Dear make ready your she Elephant. I desire very much
to go sight seeing in the town.

I hear the Bazar is rich in clothes and gold ornaments. Will you
not get me some?

That's well and good. But the bride's father is the Custom
Officer. We shall have to pay him his heavy custom duty.

My father-in-law is a rich man. He will instantaneously pay him
his dues.

3

Let us erect a good large Mandap and cover it with a firm red
coloured cloth. See that its four wooden pillars are covered
over with fine cloth of variegated colours.

Call a learned Brahmin from Kashi to perform Mangal ceremony
and let all women folk begin to sing marriage songs.

Call the father, the bride-groom and the bride. And his and her
uncles. Call the grandmother and the aunt.

Without them we shall find all alone and the festive occasion
joyless and dry.

4

The bride sends a message to the bride-groom "Come soon, come soon, I am impatient to see you.....You the king of eighty four villages."

How can I come ? Oh you nobly born... How can I come ? seven seas are lying between you and me and their waters rise high. If you cannot come alone, take your grandfather with you as your guide. Hire a ship, cross the seas and come soon.

How can I come ? Oh you nobly born...How can I come ? Seven mountains are standing in my way, with their peaks kissing the clouds.

If you cannot come alone, take your uncles to guide you. With they as your guides you will very easily surmount them. Surmount them and come soon.

How can I come ? Oh you nobly born.....How can I come ? Impenetrable Seven vast Jungles stretch themselves in my way with their uncreasable ways.

If you cannot come alone, take your brothers cousins and nephews. You will cross them and come soon.

5

There are Rayan trees in our garden. The fruits are abundant this time.

Dear, stay up with me for to night and go then, in the morning.

How can I stay, dear, my grandfather and the party starts by to night.

I will request my grandfather to request your friends to stop more for a night and my grandfather give him an additional dinner.

How can I stop dear, my father will start by to night.

I will request my father and he will request your father and do what he will ask him to do.

6

I wait for you, brother, since morning, at the window and balcony The time for 'Mamera' is well nigh past.

My husband—your brother-in-law and also his relations are enquiring.

"Where's your brother."—I stand with my eyes cast down.

I wait for you, brother, since morning, at the window and at the balcony.

I will be glad if only you come and give your mite.

I am always contended, brother, I am always a contended sister.

7

Puribai's grandfather built high fort made like mansion and got balconies in it.

Sitting in the balcony by the side of the grandfather, one day their eyes fell upon a marriage party, led by pipers and drummers.

Whose marriage party is this and where are they going asks the grand old grandfather.

In the mean time the party comes nearer and Puribai (bride) recognises the bridegroom and blushes.

A sort of joy flushes on her face of the grandfather and he goes down to receive the party.

8

The bride sitting by the side of the bridegroom looks to an advantage as an ivory bangle looks when worn between two ordinary bangles.

I ask, what great good deeds our...bride must have done, due which she has been fortunate to get such Father-in-law and Mother-in-law.

Yes, she had been to worship Billeswar in the Barda hills.

It is due to that that she has got such worthy Father in law and Mother in-law

I ask, what austerities must she have performed that she has been so fortunate to get a husband Mesurbhai (Bridegroom's name).

She had been to worship Goddess Mamai. It is due to that she is able to secure him as her husband.

9

There are hundreds of elephants, standing in my compound while hundreds of the elephants swing there trunks.

(Bridegroom's father's name to be used here)

He demands great respect and our (Bride's father) will receive them in a right royal manner.

(Bridegroom's uncle's name to be used here)

He wishes to be treated as Kings and our (Bride's father) will spend hundreds and thousands of gold coins but will treat him in a right royal manner.

10

Drums are beaten and guns are fired as the bridegroom's marriage party starts the from house of the bride.

People not knowing the worthy bridegroom and his noble father, inquire as to what king, of which great kingdom, starts to invade our country.

They do not know, poor people! It is Raghaybhai, the bridegroom, the son of Ahabhai. And it is the marriage party, that starts for the house of the bride.

He starts to win the beautiful bride, Achhubai.

Drums are beaten and guns are fired as the bridegroom's marriage party starts for the house of the bride.

11

Houses are not built without bricks and forts without stones.

Marriage party is a worthless affair without drums being beaten and the pipes being played upon.

Marriage party is a petty affair without the presence of Mamiyabhai the grandfather of the bridegroom,

Marriage party will be a worthless affair without the presence of Khodabhai the uncle of the bridegroom,

And last but not the least Mehar the father of the noble bridegroom.

They must be there, as gems in a necklace they must be there.

12

As the big Banyan tree is the king of forest trees, so is our Naranbhai the grandfather of the bridegroom is the king of our villagers.

As a peacock on the banyan tree looks like the king of birds so our sweet bridegroom Ladhobhai looks like the king of the youths.

How handsome does he look with his gold ornaments and his precious clothes! Verily he is the king of our youths.

How handsome does he look with his fine locks and well built body! Verily he is the lord of our youths.

Beautiful Lakhibai the bride will make an excellent couple with him like that of Shanker and Parwati.

13

Come out, Come out, O you mother of the young bride; The bridegroom stands at your doors. He stands to accept your reception.

He stands like your good luck at your doors. Come out, Come out and receive him.

How can I come ! O good Women ?, I have misdressed myself in hurry-hurry caused due to over joy.

Come out, Come out, O you mother of the young bride, the lovely bridegroom stands at your door standing expecting your reception. He stands like a propitiated God to give thee a boon. Hurry up, come and receive him.

How can I come, O Good women, I have put on no ornaments due to hurry-hurry caused by over joy.

14

Marriage pandal is splendidly erected on hundred pillars of bananas and adorned gorgeously with leaves of mango trees and (a sopalavpa).

Who are those fortunate people who move about in this royal pandal !

Why ! It is Malabhai bridegroom's grandfather, lord amongst men and leader of our community people. It is he, who moves about in the pandal in a manner befitting a king.

Who are those fortunate men, who go about in this royal pandal !

Why ! It is bridegroom's uncle Harsanbhai, the leader of men and the chief of good men. It is he, who moves about in a manner befitting a lord.

15

Low wooden seats are kept ready for you to sit on.

Sit on it, O sweet bridegroom !

Your grandfather is just like a king of one hundred and eight villages. He will look at you and realize that he has lived his life. Your grandmother will look at you and go mad with joy.

Sit you down, O sweet bridegroom. Your uncles are just like governors of big provinces. They will look at you and thank their stars that they have got such a happy time in their lives : and your aunts will look at you and be mad with joy. Sit you down, O sweet bridegroom !

Your maternal uncles are just like great warriors. They will look at you and forget themselves in happiness. Your maternal aunts will look at you and be mad with joy. Sit you down, O sweet bridegroom !

Low wooden seats are kept ready for you to sit on. Sit on it, O royal bridegroom !

16

We have received sixteen headclothes from the great town. They are not to be compared with other (head cloths) for they are the best are their kind.

They are so soft, so nice, so glossy, so well woven. Mamat Mata's names are woven in them. The devotees only can read them, decipher them.

We have received sixteen (head cloths) from the great town. They are not to be compared with other (head cloths) for they are best of their kind.

One cannot say whether their warp and the wool are that of silk or cotton, gold or silver. By such dexterous hands and fingers they are woven that it is difficult for one to say it for certain.

Blessed are the cloth makers.

Blessed are those that bring them.

And blessed more blessed than all Mepabhai Bhruwa who offers them to Mataji.

17

Erect a good pandal, for the day of the celebration of marriage is drawing near.

Call the grandfather and the grandmother of the bridegroom, that they may give good alms to the Brahmins and satisfy them.

Call the uncles and the aunts of the bridegroom that they may gather the necessary articles and materials for the marriage occasion.

Call the maternal uncles and the maternal aunts of the bridegroom that they may get the sweet dinners prepared for the marriage party.

Erect a good pandal, for the marriage day is drawing near.

18

I have prepared dinner for my brother. He is not come.

My rice is getting cool and so the sugared and spiced milk.

My brother is not come,

My sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law ask me as if joking, as if jesting, as if taunting, as if testing, "When is your brother

* Particular adjoining town is used here.

coming with carts and camels laden with marriage gifts for you, for the bride, the bride's father and your other children and all of us?

When is he coming? Is he nervous? Has he no money to spare?
Has he lost his way? When is your brother coming?

With tears in my eyes and shame on my face, with doubts in my mind and helplessness in my heart,

I watch and wait,

I wait and watch.

The time is gliding by and the clouds of doubts and shame thicken—grow darker.

I watch and wait!

I wait and watch!

The far off, the far off the way to my father's village.

19

Rice and spiced milk are still fresh, still hot.

And as I stand and wait for my brother I hear the bells—the ringing of sweet bells—bells tied in necklaces tied round the bullocks of the cart of my brother.

He is come: The light of my eyes.

He is come: The prestige of my father's house.

He is come: The joy of my heart.

He is come: The dark pigment for my jesters all.

Rice and spiced milk are still fresh; still hot my brother is come with his cart full of marriage gifts for all, for all.

20

Get on the cart O Bride, Get on the cart. The drummers are beating their drums. All those who are married are dear ones, dear ones of their new relations. Get on the cart, O bride. Get on the cart. The drummers are beating their drums....drums to give their starting signal. Wait a moment (Says the Bride) a moment, and if you permit me I wish to go and say good bye to my dear old Grandfather. Now, Now Good-bye? Why a Good bye? What need now! O simple Bride!

You are ours completely, O simple Bride, not a bit of your parents. All those who are married are dear ones, only, only of their new relations.

Wait a moment (says the bride) wait a moment, for if you permit me I wish to say good-bye to my parents—weeping parents.

Now, now Good-bye ? Why a Good-bye ? What need—what need O simple Bride ? You are ours. Ours outright, O simple bride ! Not a bit of your parents. All those who are married are dear only, only to their new relations. Sit on the cart, O Bride, Get on the cart. The drummers are beating their drums—giving a signal for our going home.

B. L. MANKAD.

સ્થારીનાં ગીતા.

(૧)

મારે અમિયુ એલચીનાં ગા
 ફાલે ને પૂલે રે મારી એલચી.
 નારણભાઈ તમારા કુંવરીયાને વારેરે
 ઝંઝેડે મારી એલચી—મારે.
 ઝંઝેડે તો ઝંઝેડવા દેવેરે,
 કુંવર મારે લાખે—મારે.
 લાખેયો હોય તો લાખકડી પરણાવેરે,
 ઇંદર ગડનો રાજ્યો—મારે.
 આલાખભાઈ તમારા કુંવરીયાને વારેરે,
 ઝંઝેડે મારી એલચી—મારે.
 ઝંઝેડે તો ઝંઝેડવા દેવેરે,
 કુંવર મારે લાખે—મારે.
 લાખેયો હોય તો લાખકડી પરણાવેરે,
 ઇંદર ગડનો રાજ્યો—મારે.

(૨)

પાછલી પછીતે એકરે ગણેસ
 પડખીતે એકી પૂતળી,
 એ પરી પૂતળી અમારાભાઈ ધરનાર (૨)
 અવસરે ઝપડો માંડીયો—પાછલી.
 ગોરીના પરણ્યા લાખકડી શણગાર, (૨)
 કે નગર જોવા ખંત ધણી—પાછલી.
 નગર શેરમાં બચરી બનર, (૨)
 કે વચમાં લીલી માંડવી—પાછલી.

માંડવીયો છે રૂડી વહુની આપ, (૨)

કે માંડવીયે મેઠાં લેખાં લેશેરે—પાછલીં

લેખા વહીયો છે આસાઆઈની દાદો, (૨)

કે ચડયે ઘોડે લેખાં દેશેરે—પાછલીં

(૩)

મેટા માંડવડો રાપાવો, લાલ સુંદરીયે ધવરાવો
 રંગરંગી ચંદુરે રાપાવો, મેટા માંડવડો રાપાવો
 કાસીથી પડિતો તેડાવો, જાણ્યા જોશીને બોલાવો,
 સારા જોશ જોશરાવો, લખોટા વેફુને બધ્યાવો,
 વરના આપને બોલાવી, વરના દાદાને તેડાવો,
 વરની કાકાને તેડાવો, વરની કાકીને બોલાવો,
 સૂનાં સૂનાં સહુએ વણુ લાગશે સૂનો માંડવડને શાકશે,
 દોલવાળાં વગડાવો. આવો મેટા માંડવડો રાપાવો,

(૪)

કુવારી કન્યાએ સંદેશો મોકલ્યો,
 વેલેરા આવો ચોરાશીના રાયવર.
 હું કેમ આવું સકળની રે બેટી,
 આડા છે દરીયાને પાણીના ભરીયા,
 એકલા નાવો તો સાથ દાદાને સોલડો,
 વાણે ચડીને વર વેલેરા આવો.
 હું કેમ આવું સકળની રે બેટી,
 આડા છે ડુંગર ચડીયા છે અંબર,
 એકલા નાવો તો સાથ કાકાને સોલડો,
 ચડી કરી ઉતરી ને વેલેરા આવો,
 હું કેમ આવું સકળની રે બેટી,
 આડાં વગડાવને વીધું કેમ નિરજન,
 એકલા નાવો તો સાથ પિતરાઈ સોલડો.
 જેમ તેમ કરી વર વેલેરા આવો,

(૫)

આપણા બાગમાં રાપણુ કેરાં જાડ
 રાપણુ પાછીને રાપણુ લળી લળી જાય—આપણાં
 રહેને રસિયા આણુ કેરી રાત
 સવારે ઉઠી પંથે જાળે હો રાજ—આપણાં
 કેમ રહું ગોરી દાદા મારા ઉપડેરે
 સવારે ઉઠી ને પંથે જાઉં કેમ પડુંરે—આપણાં

દાદાજીને જાણે હું વિનવું કે
 તમારા દાદાને રેવા વિનવું કે રાજ—આપણાં
 કેમ રહું ચોરી બાપુ મારા ઉપરે
 સવારે ઉઠીને પંથે કેમ પહોંરે—આપણાં
 બાપુને જાણ હું વિનવું કે
 તમારા બાપુને રેવા વિનવું કે રાજ—આપણાં
 રહેને રસિયા આજી કેરી રાત
 સવારે ઉઠી પંથે જાળે હો રાજ

(૧)

ઉભી હું પરલાતની ગોખમાં
 ઉભી હું પરલાતના પેરની
 ઉભી ઉભી જોઈ પીરાની વાર
 મામેરાં વેળા વધી ગઈ.
 માડીના જાયા વેળેરે આવ
 પાટ જોઈ જોઈ આંખી આંખી ગઈ.
 હું તો જઈ સંતોષજી બેનડી
 આવ જો કર કઈ મામેરાં ના જોઈ
 હું તો જઈ સંતોષજી બેનડી
 આવ ને કર કારવાની કસ.

(૭)

જ્યારે ગઈ રૂડી બાઈ ને કાઠે મળ્યાવીયા
 માથે મેલાવ્યા રૂડી ગોખ—જ્યાં
 દાદા સાથે બેસી બાઈએ જાનું નીરખીયું
 દોલીયા સરજાઈના સુરવા નાદ—જ્યાં
 કોની તે જાનું આ કોના દોલીયા
 પૂછે હસીને દાદાજી મને કાંઈ
 દુકેડી આવી એ જાન વર દેખીયા
 રૂડી બાઈ તો મનમાં મલકાય.
 કાસો કાસો સામીયા કરીએ જઈ
 દાદા ઉઠી રૂડીની જાય.

(૮)

આજી કાજી કાંકજી વચ્ચે સુડેરે.
 બાપા પાસે લાડી દોસે છે રૂડાં કે
 લાડીજીએ શીયાં શીયાં તપ કાપાં કે
 જોજો તપે આજા બાપ સસરો પાખાં કે, આજી

બરણમાં બિલેહર પૂજવા ને ઝાંતારે,
 જોણે પુને સસરાને સાસુ પામ્યારે, આણાં
 બાદી જાયે શીયાં શીયાં તપ કીધારે
 જોણે તપે મેસુર બાઈ વર લાડો પામ્યારે આણાં
 એ તો મમ્મને પૂજવાને ઝાંતાં
 જોણે પુને મેસુર બાઈ વરને પામ્યારે, આણાં

(૬)

મારે અંગણુ સો સો બાંધ્યા હાથીયા
 સૂંઢને જૂલાવે સો સો હાથણી,
 મેવા બાઈ વેવાઈ માંજે છે મોટાં માન
 અમરા બાઈ નેતરે બલી બાતથી
 મેવા બાઈ મેવાઈ માંજે રાજવાડી માન
 અમરા બાઈ સોનેયે એને પૂજશે
 મારે અંગણુ સો સો બાંધ્યા હાથીયા
 સૂંઢને જૂલાવે સો સો હાથણી.

(૧૦)

બાઈના બોળનીયા ઠરી ઠરી જાય
 દુધ કહ્યા ઠરી ઠરી જાય,
 કે તો વાટુ જોઈ ને એ નવ આવીઓ
 દેરને નણુદી હાંસી કરી રહ્યાં,
 બાળી તારા બાઈને લાગી કેમ વાર
 ગાઠાં ને ગઠેરાં એનાં ક્યાં રહ્યાં ?
 સાંદીયા બધાં તે ક્યાં ખોવાઈ ગયા ?
 આવશે એ ક્યારે મુંઝાઈ ગયો
 મારગડે બીજે એ ચઢી ગયો
 કે માથેફે કરવાનાં નાણાં ના રહ્યાં ?
 કે ને બાળી લાગી એને તે કેમવાર
 નિશાસા બહુ ને રોઈ ઉભી ઉભી,
 દૂર દૂર જોઈ બાઈ આવ્યા વાટ
 સમો તો જાયે તે હિમત નવ રહે,
 દૂર દૂર જોઈ માદી જવાની વાટ
 દૂર મારા માવેતરની વાટ
 બાપુનાં ગામની દિશું જોઈ રહું,

(૧૧)

બોજન હ્યાં નથી હ્યાં નથી
 હ્યાં નથી કદીયેલ કુધ
 ત્યાં તો માડીનો અથો આવીયો
 જોઆ વાગે ઘેટ બુધરમાલ,
 બાધ્યા એજો ચાડાના ધોરી ડોક
 વાડુ જોતી ઉજુ ત્યાં એ આવીયા
 આખું કેરૂં તેજ આપુ ઘાજ
 વાડુ જોતી ઉજુ ત્યાં એ આવીયા
 હોડાનો હરખ મસ હસતા હતી
 બોજન હ્યાં નથી હ્યાં નથી.
 હ્યાં નથી કદીયેલ કુધ
 ત્યાં તો માડીનો અથો આવીયો.

(૧૨)

ઢોલીડા પકુર્યા લાડી ચડી બેસો ગાડે રે
 પરવ્યા એટલાં ખારાં લાડી ચડી બેસો ગાડેરી ઢોલીડા
 ઉઘલાં રોતો આજું લઈ રાહજીની શીખરે
 હવે તે શીખરે લાડી હવે તે શા બોલરે રે ઢોલીડા
 પરવ્યા એટલાં ખારાં લાડી ચડી બેસો ગાડેરી ઢોલીડા
 ઉઘલાં રોતો આજું લઈ રોતો માળાપની શીખરે
 હવે તે શીખરે બોળી હવે તે શા બોલરે ઢોલીડા
 પરવ્યા એટલાં ખારાં લાડી ચાલો આપજો ધેરે ઢોલીડા
 ઢોલીડા પકુર્યા લાડી ચડી બેસો ગાડે રે
 પરવ્યા એટલાં ખારાં લાડી ચડી બેસો ગાડેરે

(૧૩)

હાલ્યા નીચા હાલ્યા છે બાળેક
 બેસોને વર લાડ્યા
 દાદા તમારા રાજ ને રાજ્યા
 ઘેર એને ગ્રામ સોને આડ
 એ જોશે તમને બૂલી જશે જાનને
 હાદી થાશે ગાંડી ધેલી સાવ
 બેસોને વર રાજ્યા

કાકા તમારા કોઈ દેશના હલ્લુમુ
 ઘેર એને મોટા દેશો ખૂલતા
 એ જોશે તમને ખૂલી જશે જાનને.
 કાકો કાકા ધન થયા ધનધન
 બેસોને વર રાજ્યા
 મામા તમારા મોટા જોધ જોધણુ છે.
 ઘરાતનમાં એના જેવા કોઈ નહિ.
 એ જો શે તમને મુખમાં ફાળી જશે.
 માળી નો તો હરખ નહિ માય.
 બેસોને વર લાડલા.
 દાળ્યા નીચા દાળ્યા છે બાળને
 બેસોને વર લાડલા.

(૧૪)

નવે નગર થી સોસો ચુંદડીઓ આવીયું
 આવી છતરી મગે માતાને ચોક
 ચોરે રંગ ચુંદડી
 ચુંદડી રેશમ જીવું રંગીલું
 જડે નહિ એની જેતાં જોડ
 ચોરે રંગ ચુંદડી.—નવે નગરથી
 ચુંદડી રૂપેરી સોનેરી તારા
 જખ્યાં એમાં માતાજીનાં નામ.
 ચોરે રંગ ચુંદડી.—નવે નગરથી
 રોજીરે બનાવી કોણે જમ કરી
 કોઈ જેતાં જેતાં ન જણાય
 ચોરે રંગ ચુંદડી.—નવે નગરથી
 ધનરે વણુકર ચુંદડી તણ્યા.
 ધન એને ધન લાવનાર.
 ધન મેયા બાઈ બુવા ધરનાર.
 ચોરે રંગ ચુંદડી.—નવે નગરથી

(૧૫)

મોટો માંડવડો શેખાવોરે
 લગન આપ્યાં દુકડાં.
 વરના દાદાને બોલાવો
 વરની દાદીને બોલાવો
 દાન દીયે બામણને મનમાનતાં

वरना काकाने जोलावे।
 वरनी काकाने जोलावे।
 विवाही जणुसु भोगी ते करे,
 वरना भाभाने जोलावे।
 वरनी भाभाने जोलावे।
 जोवन रंधावे मनारने आवतां
 मोठी भांडवडे रोपावेरे
 लगन आध्यां दूकडां.

(१६)

डोळु ते वागे जंघुके रुड्ड पुटेरे,
 भासा काकानी मनु मय परबुवार
 डोक पूछे आ कया हेकनो राख्यो.
 आपल्या मलकु पर खटी आवतोरे
 डोक जोणां मलकु नहि वात
 आतो भासा काकानी मनु आवे परबुवार
 आतो भासा काकआने पुटी पाहने परबुवार,
 आतो आपे भीडां पुरी पाहने परबुवार,
 डोळु ते वागे जंघुके रुड्ड पुटेरे,
 भासा काकानी मनु मय परबुवार.

(१७)

छट्टि वधु सधाय न जोरडां
 पाण्या वधु गंडां सधाय नहि.
 मनु डोळु वधु के सरळ्यासु वन्हा
 जोरडां के अठ शी लागली.
 वरना दादा नारळु काढी राख्या
 येना वधु मनु जराय नव होसेछ.
 वरना काका मेसुट काढी राख्या
 येना वधु मनु जराय न होसेछ.
 वरना पाप मार जणु काढी राख्या
 येना वधु मनु जराय न होसेछ.
 मोती के नो भीली बीरा मेसुह
 मोणां ते जोवन रन भांडव होसता.
 येना वधु भांडव येवा होसता.

(૧૮)

દોસે રી વરની જનડી
 જાડવાળાં વડલો જેમ રાજ્યો
 એવા વરના દાદા આગળમાં હોય. દોસે
 વડમાં બેઠા ઘાગે મોરલા
 વર લાડ દોસે માણસ ના તરે, દોસે
 આંધે કેવા વર હુગડે લેતા
 લાગે એતો કામ દેવ કેડરે. દોસે
 ખાસે બેઠા રૂડી બાઈ વર લાડી
 ઘાગે શિવને જવરીનાં રૂપ. દોસે

(૧૯)

હાલો હાલો કન્યા કેરી માત
 આગળુ લે વરલાડલો જિભો રજો.
 હાલો હાલો પૂરી બાઈની માત
 બારણીયે વરલાડલો જિભો રજો.
 બારણીયે તુજ અવસર જિભો રજો.
 બીલી બાઈનું આતું કેમ ઉતાવળી ?
 ઉતાવળમાં પેપાં ઉધા પેરેણાં
 હરખે ને હરખે ઘેલી થઈ.
 હાલો હાલો કન્યા કેરી માત.
 બારણીયે અલખેલીડો જિભો રજો.
 હાલો હાલો પૂરી બાઈની માત.
 આગળુયે છબીલો હેલ જિભો રજો.
 બીલી બાઈ આતું કેમ ઉતાવળી
 ઉતાવળમાં પેપાં ઉધા પેરેણાં.
 હરખે ને હરખે ઘેલી થઈ રે.
 મારા હાઈડનો હરખ ન માપરે.
 હરખે ને હરખે ઘેલી થઈ રે.

(૨૦)

એકસો કેળ શબ્દે માંડવડો દોપે.
 બાંધ્યા બાંધ્યા આસો પાલવ પાન
 હશે કેા સુન્દાગ એમાં મ્હાલશે ?
 હશે કેા રાજ્યો હામા મ્હાલશે ?



1.—A Rabari father, playing with his children.

2.—An old Rabari of Bhatia going to an adjoining village.

(By the courtesy of the
*Jessup Photo Co.,
 Jessup*).



3.—A Rabari family engaged in a homely chat.



4.—Rabaris sending off a guest.



5.—Raharis going to drive back the buffaloes.

6.—Buffaloes near a hillock.



7.—A Rahari caravan going in search of a new pasture.



8.—A distant view of a Rahari hut.



9.—A Rabari adopting a modern method of taking tea.



10.—An old Rabari water carrier.



11.—A Rabari marriage party.



12.—Two Rabari women;
one with a baby.



13.—An old Rabari milching a buffalo.

(By the courtesy of the Jemnagar Photo Co., Jemnagar.)



14.—Ornaments, worn by Rabari women.

સો સો ફળ થંભે માંડવડો દીપ.
 બાંધ્યા બાંળ્યા બાસોપાલવ પાન.
 અમરા ભાઈ દાદા રાણા ને રાણ્યા.
 રાજ રીતે માંડવડે મ્હાલી રહેશે.
 એકસો ફળ થંભે માંડવડો દીપશે
 બાંધ્યા બાંળ્યા બાસો પાલવ પાન.
 હશે કે સુભાગી એમાં મ્હાલશે,
 હશે કે રાણો તે એમાં માલશે.
 સો સો ફળ થંભે માંડવડો દીપતો.
 બાંધ્યા બાંળ્યા બાસો પાલવપાન.
 મેસુરભાઈ તે રાણાને રાણ્યા.
 રાજ રીતે માંડવડે માલી રેશે.



GROWTH OF THE CIVIC IDEA

In civics, as in most other branches of knowledge, inquiry starts with Greece. The study of the City-State is the beginning of civic wisdom. The deepest genius that has spent itself in the subject is that of Plato. Civic feeling in Athens was close-knit by intimate personal contact and by community of aims and interests. The city was a sort of an enlarged family and a school of citizenship. The conditions prevalent in the City-State were very favourable for the emergence and growth of the civic spirit. Man was brought into contact with man, in an intensity of life, never perhaps afterwards to be realised. This contact established the recognition of rights and duties; for human beings cannot long mix together without attempting to define their mutual relations. In India, on the other hand, the development proceeded on other lines. Man was usually brought into contact with nature and was impressed with a sense of the inscrutable.¹ The forest sense of things held him in its grip. Civic consciousness, as such, could not emerge. Aristotle has defined man as a political animal; but man, in this country, has been anything but political all these centuries. The content of his life has been to a large extent non-political. The system of society divided into mutually exclusive castes is not congenial to the rise of rights and duties recognised as pertaining to mankind generally. This might explain the divergence in the subsequent history of the Sanskrit branches of the Aryan race from that of the Western Aryans. The Greeks and Romans very early became civic conscious; and developed a peculiar type of state² which was the centre and inspiration of all their most characteristic achievements.

GREECE :—

There were several strands of the tie that linked the individual and the State in ancient Greece³. The conditions of life then prevalent were widely different from ours. Greek civilisation was the product of leisure. The Greeks could afford time to give to the concerns of the State. Moreover, they spent most of their life in the open, at work or along with others in some public place. This was very congenial to the promotion of club-life; and club-

1. Cf. McIver : *The Modern State*, p. 72. E.

2. Read Ward Fowler : *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*.

3. See Zimmern : *Greek Commonwealth*.

life promoted fellowship and hospitality. Fellowship implied equality, a genuine spirit of equality, not to be confounded with the pseudo-equality that has become the watch-word of modern republics, but that which is bred by free intercourse and common needs, in the home and the market, the thorough-fares and the shrines. The equality, thus understood, formed the basis for political institutions. No wonder that the State was regarded as "the common interest." Freedom of speech and a liberal spirit created the force which articulated itself in what we might call public opinion.

Greek citizenship was "a political as well as a civil complex of rights";¹ it implied a partnership in governance. The citizen was a potential ruler. Those excluded from citizenship had no share in political life. And this citizenship was very exclusive. The Greek could not conceive any other form but that of his own, the city-state. He could not feel, moreover, at home in any other city but his own. The Athenian was a stranger in Sparta; the Spartan was a stranger in Thebes. Civic life could be lived only in one's own city. "Greek patriotism fused the emotions of school and family, of inheritance and early training, of religion and politics—all the best of boyhood with all the best of manhood—into one passionate whole. The city was the only city, and her ways the only ways." The Greek passionately loved everything associated with his city and its environment. The Greek citizen, as Pericles said, "needed but to look at his city to fall in love with her."² His patriotism was thus both intensified and narrow. His citizenship, again, was very exclusive, carrying with it a number of privileges, constitutionally established and jealously guarded.

ROME:—

The Romans also regarded the state as *Res publica*, 'everybody's business.' Originally citizenship was restricted to the Patricians, and the one qualification was birth. The Plebeians were outside the pale of citizenship. After the fall of the Monarchy and foundation of the Republic, they too acquired political rights. In course of time the old narrow birth qualification was abolished in favour of the freehold, and the ground was prepared for social and political equality. All this development was by no means effected peacefully. The history of Roman citizenship was more turbulent than the Athenian. With the

1. Sir Paul Vinogradoff: *Historical Jurisprudence*. Vol. II, p. 86.

2. Read his "Funeral Oration." *Thucydides History of the Peloponnesian War*, pp. 120-128.

extinction or relaxation of the old ties of birth, of family and clan, and with the disappearance of the political differences between the Patricians and the Plebeians, and the emancipation of slaves, a new principle became the basis of the Roman citizenship. Hitherto, there were varying grades from full citizenship to *civitates sine suffragiis*, (citizens without political rights). With the admission of non-freeholders, the 'proletarian', the majority of whom must certainly have been the newly enfranchised slaves, the old principle which made active citizenship depend on the possession of land was definitely abandoned. And yet a broad distinction between *civis* or citizens, and *socii* or allies still remained. The question of extending citizenship to the allies as well had to be eventually considered. With the growth of the Empire, a new set of problems emerged. Many people were brought under Roman jurisdiction who were excluded from the pale of Roman liberty. The Emperor Caracalla extended Roman citizenship to the furthest confines of his vast dominions and thus established a system of universal franchise. It is doubtful how far the results that have flowed from this measure which had primarily a financial motive, have been beneficial. Its effect was, indeed, "to break down the enclosure"; but it affected both Rome and the Empire in weakening the foundation of political life. "The rougher trade of arms was assigned to the peasants and barbarians of the frontier, who knew no country but their own, no science but that of war, no civil laws and hardly those of military discipline. With bloody hands, savage manners and desperate resolutions they sometimes guarded but more often subverted the throne of the Empire."¹ Civil administration was entrusted to "the more polished citizens of the internal provinces." The old national spirit was undermined; "the conception of the Roman Empire rotted away the sense of national patriotism throughout its whole expanse." It is related that Honorius once offered complete self-government to some of Gallic States which had by that time become incapable of autonomy. He had to impose a fine for disobedience when they would not undertake the new responsibility laid on them.

MIDDLE AGES:—

National patriotism was decadent throughout the Middle Ages. Christendom was looked upon as a vast commonwealth conjointly ruled by the Pope and the Emperor. The country was not the unit and focus of the individual's allegiance. A man might be the

1. Gibbon : *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

vassal of the kings of different countries at the same time. We have the denial of national unity and the absence of state power. The State itself is disintegrated; its authority filters down to the component grades of society through a hierarchy of personal relationships. We seem to see on every side, nothing but lords and serfs.¹ In such a society we have the mere outward force of individuals, no rights, no citizenship. The tenant or the serf owed fealty to a lord, and not to the sovereign or the state. The lord might be the sovereign, but obedience to him, feudally speaking, was not to the sovereign as such. Feudal sympathy, chivalrous sentiment, commercial interest were the ingredient elements in social relations; none of these was capable of evoking a genuine spirit of national patriotism. A man's loyalty was to his order, or his lord, or his prince, or to his church; there could be no idea of loyalty to country.

The civic ideal was submerged in the dual dominance of the Pope and the Emperor. They were the two focal points in political life, and the struggle between them occupies much of the history of the period. And when thinkers and theorists turned away in disgust from the unedifying spectacle before them, it is to the solace of the conception of universal monarchy as the sheet-anchor of peace.²

The towns of the medieval period all the time tried to stand outside of the feudal system, and preserve the tradition of political authority as the organized, expressed will of the community. But even in them, we have the gradual encroachment of the feudal principle in the development of the famous guild system. All handicraftsman and traders had to find their place in the ordering of its sharply differentiated social classification. "Each occupation was controlled by its guild; and that guild was a close corporation, admitting to membership only whom it chose. No one could enter save through the stringently guarded avenues of a limited and prescribed apprenticeship and once in, the apprentice was bound by the rules of his order. City Government became representative of the authority of association guilds. No one was a citizen who was not within one of the privileged associations." The civil life of the medieval towns, we find, is also influenced by the feudal system.

1. See Hegel: *Philosophy of History*. See also Hallam: *Middle Ages*.

2. Dante. See G. F. Howell's *Dante*.

MODERN TIMES:—

The rise of Protestantism ushered in the era of Nation-States and of political revolutions. There was a reaction against the ideas of the mediæval policy, which expressed itself, in the first instance, in a movement towards absolute monarchy. But much more was involved in the revolt than a mere apotheosis of the king's position. The doctrines of Natural Rights and individual consent had greater intellectual kinship to radical rather than to the conservative view-points. The Renaissance and the Reformation were strongly individualistic. The political and social revolutions that followed, ushered in a new set of problems that inevitably revived the idea of citizenship. At the same time, it was felt that older conceptions could not be valid under the conditions that have obtained in modern times. The changes that have been ushered in by the Industrial Revolution have been so remarkable, the civic relations consequently, of modern society so varied and rich, that a reformulation of the civic idea has become urgently imperative. It has become necessary to regard modern industrial organisation in terms of human ends which it ought to serve. "The great problem of the future is the adjustment of this organisation to minister to the development of citizenship."¹ The problem, for the time being, appears very difficult, indeed, of solution; but solution there is bound to be if patience and faith were brought to bear on its investigation. A preliminary understanding of it lies in recognising its complexity. The modern state is itself the complex of various social institutions, at the same time, like the family, the university, the church, the trade union and so on. The call on modern citizenship is the reconciliation of their competing claims in a right ordering and unifying of the citizen's diverse loyalties into a mutually consistent whole. Citizenship in an industrial society must take into consideration all the features of that society; and prevent conflict due to overlapping or opposition of interests.

GROWTH OF CIVIC IDEA —

The brief survey that we have given enables us to understand certain main ideas in the growth of the civic principle. The Greek citizen regarded his relation to the state as an all-inclusive relation. He had also, indeed, his group of "diverse loyalties"; to himself, to his family, to his class, to his tribe, but all these loyalties were integrated and taken up in the citizenship of the city-state. No antagonism was implied between the individual and the state or society. The loyalty of the citizen was to his group, to his

1. Johnston: *Citizenship in the Industrial World*.

"group-self." The State was regarded as the expansion of the individual; Government a partnership. The citizens jointly functioned in governance of themselves. "For, in the Greek view, to be a citizen of a state did not merely imply the payment of taxes and the possession of a vote; it implied a direct and active co-operation in all the functions of civil and military life."¹ The City-State was the highest expression of the principle of self-government. The antithesis between the individual and the state, or between state and society did not arise; there was no social institution that was not also a political institution. There was the intensity of a personal contact that was the expression of the highest social synthesis.

It was this personal aspect that was endangered by the rise and growth of the Roman Empire. The Roman citizen was a stranger to the principle of personal loyalty; and the system of Empire became essentially impersonal. The Romans "devoured and broke in pieces" the states of the old world, and through the long centuries of the *Pax Romana*, we may say that within the wide limits of the Empire there existed Society without the State, except as a "negatively regulative" institution. Citizenship, when made co-extensive with the Roman world, had no longer any political meaning; it gave only certain legal and social privileges. The State would appear to the individual as merely the machinery for defending Society against the aggression of barbarians from without and for maintaining order and enforcing contracts within.

When the medieval world began to gradually emerge from out of the chaos that had followed the cataclysm of the Roman Empire, the Teutonic Society reacted powerfully on the existing system, and revived the principle of personal relationship. The fusion of the individualism of the Germanic, and the absolutism of the Roman systems resulted in feudalism. The decadence of the national spirit effaced vertical divisions in society that differentiated one country from another; but the growth of feudalism with its system of estates or castes resulted in horizontal divisions that made its institutions cosmopolitan rather than national. The individual came under caste or communal feeling; and sacrificed without scruple every national or patriotic consideration. The Feudal State, in its political aspect, meant the absence of a genuine spirit of citizenship; for it was no longer a partnership of free men.

1. Dickinson: *The Greek View of Life*.

The close of the Middle Ages saw the emergence of the nation-state. But the principle of nationality, as such, was only released by the titanic eruption of 1789. Although the French proclaimed fraternity, it was nationality that came to be intensified. As a result we have nation-states, the life in which is as intense as in the city-states of old. "And as of old, Society and State tend to coincide, political questions tend to become identical with social questions". This has made possible the revitalisation of citizenship.

This citizenship was, however, intimately linked up with the sentiment of nationality. "All civic virtue," wrote Lecky, "all the heroism and self-sacrifice of patriotism spring ultimately from the habit men acquire of regarding their nation as a great organic whole, identifying themselves with its fortunes in the past as in the present, and looking forward anxiously to its future destinies." This identification was the highest call on the duty of the citizen: he was taught to place country first and above every other consideration. In case of necessity he must be prepared to give up his very life. The Decrees of 1793 of the National Convention of France ran: "The young men shall go to fight; married men shall forge weapons and transport supplies; the women shall make tents and uniforms or serve in the hospitals; the children shall make lint; the old men shall be carried to the public squares to excite the courage of soldiers....." Nationalism, in its accentuated form, developed into militarism and has been the most potent force making for war. The logic of the nation has been that one nation is always the hammer, the other the anvil.

The Great War was a horrible calamity and a monstrous folly. That its lurid memories "will for a long time to come incline the majority of men to peace is certain."¹ The chief obstacle to peace has been an exaggerated regard for one's own country, right or wrong. That awful cataclysm has demonstrated "the danger of limited conceptions of civic life."² It is increasingly being realised that the destiny of one nation is dependant on the destiny of other nations. Inter-dependence is the keynote of the new relations of nations. This is reacting upon the idea of citizenship; and the claims of humanity are being emphasised.³ It is being

1. Alison Phillips : *The Confederation of Europe*, p. 303.

2. Muirhead and Haatherington : *Social Purpos*, p. 21.

3. Newman : *Citizenship and Survival of Civilisation*, p. 42. "Citizenship to-day is synonymous with humanity, for the State was made for Man, not man for the State."

realised that "duty to mankind will raise national patriotism on to a higher level where wars of aggrandisement would become impossible."¹ This is different from the cosmopolitanism of old that the Stoics have made the world familiar with. The failure of international society in the past has forced its lessons on thinking humanity. "No "alliances," no balance of power, no agreements, no Hague Tribunals will now satisfy us. We know that it is only by creating a genuine community of nations that we can have stability and growth, world peace, world progress."² It has become an urgent necessity to foster an international outlook and an international mind. Whether this could be achieved by the creation of a World-State or by a League of Nations, the conviction however, is daily strengthening that nationalism should look out as well as in. Every nation is to be responsible to the larger whole. Nationalism and internationalism may perhaps not be opposed, if "the true line of advance is, not to sneer at nationality and decry patriotism, but to try to utilize those elemental forces by imparting to them a true aim, instead of the false aim which had deluged Europe with blood."³ This involves a new definition of civic patriotism. "The old fashioned hero went out to conquer his enemy; the modern hero goes out to disarm his enemy through creating a mutual understanding."⁴ We need for this a new faith in humanity. "A new faith is in our hearts;" for the World War has been the herald of another world for humanity. "The Great War has been the great call to humanity and humanity is answering. It is breaking down the ramparts to free the way for the entrance of a larger spirit which is to fill every single being by interflowing between them all."⁵

The Great War, as Lord Bryce said, has thus "shaken the foundations of the world of thought as well of the world of action"; and has impelled us to seek to realise a wider and a truer citizenship, an all-inclusive citizenship, looking beyond the little platoon to which the individual belongs. "The real unit of allegiance is the world. The real obligation of obedience is to the total interest of our fellow-men."⁶ In a creative civilisation what is important is the scientific fact of world inter-dependence. The mind and the intellect have to be trained for this recognition.

1. Mazzini; *Duties of Man*.

2. M. P. Follett: *The New State*, p. 345.

3. Holland Rose: *Nationality in Modern History*, p. 92.

4. M. P. Follett: *The New State*, p. 345.

5. M. P. Follett: *The New State*, p. 161.

6. Lasaki: *Grammar of Politics*, p. 64.

"For the real root of conflict is ignorance". The ill-formed mind and the narrow mind are being exploited by the evil forces of the age. "What is wanted, if we are to break down the barriers between knowledge and ignorance is education. We can only surmount our problems by enlisting the services of every citizen in that task; and we can only make citizens by training their minds to grasp the world about them. When the masses can understand they will have the courage to act upon their understanding. For intellect, as Carlyle said, is like light; from a chaos it makes a world."

PRATAPAGIRI RAMAMURTI.



IMPRESSIONS OF WORLD AGRICULTURE

These impressions relate to a world tour which I took for a period of seven and a half months from 23rd April 1935 to 6th December 1935. About two months of the period were occupied by journeys on seas on which no agriculture could be seen. The itinerary consisted of visits to the countries of Egypt, England, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy, Australia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Denmark, *via* Sweden, Norway, Scotland, North Ireland, Irish Free State, Wales, across U. S. A., Canada, Hawaii, Japan, China, Singapore and Ceylon. The duration of the visit to each country was a day in Cairo (Egypt), Honolulu (Hawaii) and Singapore, about a month in England, and the same period in the United States of America, about a fortnight in Japan and from five to ten days in the remaining countries. The land journeys were done mostly by day so that the countryside could be seen and adequate observations made.

The methods and material which contributed to the impressions consisted of:—

- (1) Getting acquaintance with the general conditions of agriculture by—
 - (a) A perusal of agricultural statistics and of economic conditions from reports which are published by the Commercial advisers to the British Legations or Embassies of the various countries visited.
 - (b) Discussion with authorities
 - (c) Visits to rural areas, villages, average private farms, where observations and enquiries were made on the mode and conditions of living of the farming community.
- (2) Obtaining an insight into the organisations of agricultural education and methods of propaganda by conversations with the authorities and workers concerned, and by visits to some of the most typical centres of each.

The object of this note is not to set out in a detailed manner all the observations made as above but to refer only to the very broad aspects thereof in a summary fashion. Judging firstly from the ultimate test of agriculture, namely, the production of requirements of human life, whether primary such as food,

clothing, shelter and good health, or secondary such as pleasures and comforts of life, it is to be noted that most of the countries visited furnish a higher standard than what we see and experience here in India. Most of the farmers have a large quantity of animal food and their houses for residence are decently and neatly built having a larger number of rooms of the order of four to six and chairs, tables, good furniture, good floors, carpets and several other things of comfort and pleasure. In some places, for instance in Denmark every house of a farmer, even the poorest, has a telephone; in some others there are electricity and good water-supply from bores and bore wells, and notably in Japan even the smallest house in a village has electric light. It may be said in general that some of the better class farmers' houses in Europe and America are perhaps as good and sometimes even better than those of the officers in India drawing a pay of Rs. 500, per month. Of course there are also cases that are below the all-round high pitch described above; for instance, in Japan and China the standard is not so high as in the West; Japan, with larger and cleaner accommodation, is no doubt better than China, but the farmers in both the countries do not have tables or chairs or other equipment of the European style; their manner of resting is similar to India, namely, squatting and sleeping on the floor and as such they do not go into their houses with the same shoes on, as are used outside, but they enter bare-footed or change for clean household shoes; they have no coats as European farmers but they sleep on modest mattresses spread on the floor; conditions in China are the worst and not very different from and at times even worse than in the rural conditions of India. One impression gathered is that as one comes towards tropical countries the standard generally deteriorates, thus in Southern Italy we approach tropical regions and there we find conditions approaching those to be found in many parts of India.

Turning now to the causes which may have brought about such conditions, two possible alternatives can be thought of. One may be superior skill and effort on the part of people and the other may be the natural conditions. Within my observations and understanding I did not find the first set, as separated from the influence of the second, in countries with higher standards to be any better than what is found in India under similar circumstances; and it is therefore the natural conditions which, I believe, are responsible for the difference.

The natural conditions as concern agriculture mostly fall into two categories; namely, the climate and the

land. Under climate the most important factor is the supply of water to crops either as rain-fall or otherwise. In all the countries visited, the rainfall is distributed over almost all the 12 months of the year and they have not to worry to the same extent with regard to soil moisture as has to be done in India with short and irregular seasons of rainfall. The second factor of climate is temperature and here again it is to be noted that the temperature of the temperate and sub-temperate countries in a great part of the year is lower than in the tropics which include India, and the result is that whatever rainfall they get goes further on account of lesser evaporation. The temperature conditions are also responsible for the development of a particular standard of life. For instance, in a cold winter one must clothe oneself with warm clothing so as to cover the whole body and that is how the clothing standard of countries having severe winters has evolved in that direction; similarly their houses must be well protected during winter which is intensely cold and renders it absolutely necessary to have some sort of warm cover on the floor and glass windows to keep out cold draughts and at the same time to admit light. This is how the temperature conditions have formed as it were a nucleus for the standard of living of the people of any locality.

Coming next to the second natural factor of land, it has been noticed that due to one reason or another it is generally the good land which is under cultivation in the Western countries, while in India agriculture has been pushed to a maximum potentiality by bringing under cultivation even the poorest lands possible. On account of rainfall in all the twelve months and also low temperature the lands of the temperate and sub-temperate regions have more organic matter and humus which, as scientists know, means more fertility *i. e.* more productive power.

These natural conditions have influenced not only plant but also animal industry. Cropping in the temperate and sub-temperate countries is not so diverse, as in India, consisting largely of a few cereals such as wheat, oats, barley and rye and maize and rice in addition in the warmer southern parts. Wherever these natural conditions are favourable there is better response to the human effort and higher yields are obtained. The average outturn of wheat in the European countries visited is about three times as much as that of India and this was observed to be due not so much to any superior effort or superior skill of their growers in its cultivation, but to climatic advantages and the long season of growth. Nothing extraordinary in the tillage

methods of manuring was found. Of course manures are used more plentifully, but the reason for that is again the favourable natural conditions such as the presence of adequate supply of soil water and large quantities of organic matter enabling the artificial manures to respond better than with adverse conditions in these respects in India. There is also a greater supply of farm-yard manure as conditions are favourable for animal industry on account of the fact that it has probably been found to pay more to keep lands under pasture and hay or growing forage crops for livestock than under other crops; most of the farms visited had about half the area or more employed in this way and these abundant areas of grass land also furnish grass for litter *i.e.* bedding under the feet of cattle which goes to further increase the supply of farm-yard manure. When there is thus a larger supply of manure, it can be well understood that the yields of crops will be more. What has been said about higher yields of wheat may also be said about cotton in the U.S.A., in which the per acre yields are from three to four times higher than in India. Similar was the case with potato and several other crops. Whatever has been explained about the high yields of crops applies equally or even to a greater degree to the animal products, the average milk yield per cow per year being about ten times of that in India.

This is enough to illustrate how favourable natural conditions have led to the high standard of life.

Another very important feature, which may be connected with the higher production per capita of agriculturists owing to favourable natural conditions or other causes, is that there are in many of the countries visited other openings to the population than agriculture, such as manufacture, trade, mining, professions and others both within and in some cases outside the countries, which bring to the people returns both for their labour and their material. The object of mentioning this here is that this factor has a great bearing on agriculture, since in the countries having these advantages it leaves a smaller proportion of their people to depend on agriculture with larger sizes of holdings coming to the share of each farmer and remaining fairly intact unlike India. In none of the countries visited, with the exception of China, the proportion of the population engaged on land is more than 50 per cent while in India some count it to be 70 and some others a little more or less per cent as also in China. In India agriculturists have no work on land for four to six months in a year, but the question is as to what else they can and should do when there is no work on land. In all the countries of visit except China and perhaps Japan,

farming is just as much a business as any other. Enquiring of several farmers met as to how they came to possess their farms, the reply in many cases was that they had bought or rented them from other persons with some money which the former had saved in some other work. Similarly if they found that farming did not pay, they sold it to some others else and themselves took up some other business. In India, to a similar question, the answer would be that they are their ancestral lands and have come to them from their fathers and forefathers. The lower standard of life in Japan and China in spite of the favourable natural conditions of the temperate and sub-temperate countries can perhaps be explained also by their long evolution to marginal possibility in one direction only *viz.* agriculture without any other opening (in Japan till lately) as in India.

A further factor which might have perhaps helped to keep the business size of the farms in tact in Western countries may be the loose family ties which the Western people have developed. The family system here in India, which binds the various members down together by certain obligations was not seen in the Western countries, even between a father and his major children or between brothers and sisters. One case came to notice in which a son was carrying on dairy farming and his father was on the roll for getting doles. On account of these loose family ties every member of the family is forced to look out for one's own employment and conditions are such that some sort of employment can be got.

One more outstanding circumstance, which was noticed in all these countries, except in Japan and China, was that farmers lived on their farms and whenever a farm changed hands it did so along with the buildings and every thing standing on it, which prevented the holdings from being fragmented.

A description of the conditions of farming must include a reference as to how the finance is supplied to agriculture. The every day routine requirements of farming life are, when necessary, supplied on credit by shopkeepers and co-operative organisations to more or less extent in the different countries. But for all long term requirements such as purchase of land and the like, it is mostly the banks that finance the farmers and at fairly cheap rates of interest. Amongst the cases enquired into there were hardly any in which individual money lenders were the source of long term loans. This again strikes me as due to sounder conditions of agriculture. With regard to finance by co-operation, the countries where actual cash was supplied on co-operation on any appreciable scale as it is being done in India are few. But supplies of

manures, dairy and other farming requisites, marketing and making of marketable products and such other business were done co-operatively on a very large scale, in some countries. Denmark is the most developed in co-operation and almost every business connected with agriculture is done on co-operative lines but no actual money is given. Japan is also much advanced in the same direction.

A noteworthy feature which might have influenced agriculture is that literacy was compulsory and general in all these countries except China and enquiries from some of the farmers as to whether literacy was really beneficial to them in any way elicited an answer, 'yes', as they could read news-papers and magazines on agriculture and adopt some of the improvements suggested in them.

The great influence which state action can exert in primary producers' getting better returns for their labour and a better standard of life than is possible in the ordinary course, was too prominent to escape notice. Particularly recently, Governments have been adopting measures to give relief to farmers, direct relief such as by guaranteeing prices accompanied by protective tariffs. In England, for instance, they have guaranteed prices for wheat, for milk, for eggs and such other commodities. In U.S.A. they have organised relief on a much wider and systematic basis in what they call A.A.A. (Agricultural Adjustment Act); this includes measures like burning of excess produce and sometimes asking the farmers not to cultivate their lands in order to reduce production. Of course the farmers are compensated for their losses from public funds, but a high price level to the producers is thus maintained. Another country, which came to mind at the moment where Government aid such schemes, was Italy; this country about 12 years ago was largely dependent on imports for her requirements of wheat, but they have by what they call the "battle of wheat" been able now to produce almost all their requirements within the country; the same Government have set up a scheme of reclaiming extensive areas of marshy lands for cultivation, providing finance irrespective of the consideration whether it is going to be paying or not; when they apprehended difficulty in getting coal for their steam engines, they have started electrification of their railways. Similarly almost all countries have been trying to be self-supporting in as many things as they would like to have and can produce in their own countries. Most countries have provided farms with better comforts and facilities including road communications

up to most farms; in many countries, many of the roads are tarred, asphalted or paved as they call them.

The discussion of agricultural conditions cannot be complete without reference to the system of contribution of Agriculture to Government. In most countries this contribution is on the basis of valuation of property. In some countries where the profits of agricultural business exceeded the taxable limit, there is also income tax to be paid. This is what can be said in a very general way as other systems are followed by some countries.

This concludes the description in brief of the general conditions of agriculture and of how they have been brought about and have influenced the standard of life in the countries visited.

Passing next to the second part of studies—an insight into the organisation of agricultural research and education and also propaganda—it may be said in general that anything very extraordinary in either the methods or skill or intelligence of the various persons engaged therein did not come to notice. But one thing was most striking: that on account of the superior economic conditions which have been already referred to, many institutions possess more staff and larger equipment with which they are able to get more results. The reason why the progress does not appear to be spectacular or easy in India is mainly that India has through centuries' experience already evolved an efficiency possible under its natural conditions and partly lack of funds and consequent insufficiency of staff and equipment and not any difference in the mental calibre or interest of the persons engaged in the work. America, for instance, is in the field of agricultural exploitation only for the last 500 years and lands there are plentiful in proportion to the population and not exhausted to the same extent as in the older countries in which many of the results which the Americans have obtained have long been established practices.

The observations on agricultural education may be reviewed under three aspects. The first is the elementary or primary education which is the basis of all education. It has been already stated before that primary education in all the countries of visit except China is compulsory and general. Every one can read and write and as such they can derive certain benefits. In regard to the second stage, namely middle schools where professional agriculture is taught, these are certainly more numerous than in India; this is so because, as stated before, many farms change hands often in those countries and there is perhaps more need for this form of

training, as in not a few cases the young men who enter farming are not necessarily farmers' sons and even when they may be so, they do not get enough time and opportunity, while they have to be in schools for their compulsory primary education, to learn in association with their parents the traditional knowledge and practices of farming as is possible in India with the continuity of the farming occupation in the same families from generation to generation. There are 100 agricultural schools in Germany, 300 in Czechoslovakia and from 20 to 60 in the European countries. Short courses in special subjects are also common. The Diploma holders of both these forms are employed very largely either in farming of their own or of others or in the lower ranks of agricultural education, research and extension. The Collegiate or higher education in agriculture is carried on about the same line as in India. Of course the number of students is larger, going up to 500 or even a thousand in some of the American Land Grant Colleges. The Graduates are mostly employed in higher ranks of agricultural professions such as research, education, extension work and other jobs.

With regard to the spreading of knowledge arrived at by research or what is called extension or propoganda work, anything new as compared with India was not noticed; the work is carried on through trained travelling persons under the designations of county agents, organisers or the like who are styled agricultural Overseers and Inspectors in the Bombay Presidency, through the staff and students of the agricultural schools, through shows, exhibitions and demonstrations and through printed literature.

Finally it is the constructive lessons, which my impressions furnish in reference to the possibility of improving the agricultural conditions in India, that remain to be dealt with. This can be done only under broad headings and in a summary manner in a short note like this. The first that can be done is the adoption of measures for equal distribution of existing opportunities of the country. In Western countries the difference between the earnings of a farmer or a labourer and those of "Clean Collar Jobbers" is certainly not so great as in India. The standard of life with which rural or agricultural India has to be contented is thus necessarily low as compared with the other class. This is often attributed to lack of hard and systematic work and education and to the conservatism of the rural man of India; but I dare say from my knowledge of and contact with him for the last thirty years of my service in the Agricultural Department that he is no more so than any section of the human society placed in his circumstances. Various ways

can be thought of to equalise opportunities and one that forcibly comes to mind is to give the agriculturist more returns for his labour. Let him get better prices for his saleable produce and standard of life is sure to rise. Of course that means that buyers of agricultural produce shall have to pay more and to reduce their standard of life to a certain extent. But when we consider human society as a whole we cannot escape from the hypothesis that every member thereof is entitled to have an equally legitimate share. There are many other ways in which this equalization of opportunities and evening of the standard of life can be brought about. Lightening the burden of an unnecessarily large number of people on land, something like three quarters the population of India, is another of such ways; this can partly be secured by opening out in India industries and occupations for requirements which are at present being obtained from outside labour and material but which can surely be produced from Indian labour and material; research work in Agriculture would further enable a still smaller number of people to produce the requirements obtainable from agriculture for all and thereby liberate a still larger population to produce within the country itself more objects of pleasure and comforts such as singing, music, cinemas, tours, poetry, art or anything of that sort, provided that the organisation of the society is such as would afford equal opportunities. Looking out, if possible, for more openings outside the country for its labour and material-openings for which its natural conditions may be giving an advantageous position-can be one more step in the same direction: cotton growing of India for which some other countries do not have the favourable climatic conditions may be cited as an example and many other commodities agricultural and non agricultural can similarly be named and new ones found. If measures like the foregoing are not found enough to raise the standard to the desired aspirations, the last one is to control the population to that extent. The details which go to make up each of these measures are no doubt many and varied, but they are not unworkable.

In conclusion it is to be stated that it is only the impersonal and all pervading organisations like the state, equally representative and carrying the confidence of all the sections of the people that can deal with such problems quickly, comprehensively, effectively and permanently.

V. G. GOKHALE

THE GROWTH OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

In this article we propose to trace the growth of agricultural production in the British Districts of the Bombay Presidency from 1901 to 1931 and to ascertain whether it was adequate to the moving agricultural working population. To have a proper idea of the conditions in agriculture, we shall describe the latest agricultural conditions in the British Districts of the presidency. Next the improvements in the technique of production in agriculture will be traced. This will be followed by a close examination of the progress of agricultural output during the last three decades. Later on we shall ascertain whether the agricultural production had been adequate to the agricultural working population. The final part of the article will deal with the solution of the problem of the growth of agricultural production.

It is necessary to state here the significance of the period of study, 1901 to 1931. The year 1901 was not only the first year of the present twentieth century, remarkable for progress in many directions, but was also a Census year. The importance of 1931 is the taking of the latest population census, which included the census of the agricultural population. We have attached much importance to census years because it is only in those years data regarding agricultural population is recorded.

Before entering the subject proper it may be appropriate to treat here the movement of the agricultural working population because it is probably the most important view point from which we can study the growth of agricultural output.

The census data which is the only authoritative source of information points out that the agricultural working population in the British Districts of the Bombay presidency had decreased from 5.96 millions in 1901 to 5.5 millions in 1931 i.e., by 8.0%. (The grand

(1) Year.	(2) Agricultural working population. 000 omitted	(3) Total working population. 000 omitted	(4) Total population workers plus Non- workers. 000 omitted
1901 ...	5,956	9,449	18,560
1911 ...	5,915	9,290	19,626
1921 ...	5,152	8,411	19,348
1931 ...	5,488	8,422	21,804
Percentage In- crease + or de- crease - over that in 1901.	- 8.0	- 10.2	+ 17.7

Figures in Columns 2, 3 and 4 taken from Census Tables of the Bombay

total of the working population also had decreased by 10.2% during the same period. The percentage of Agricultural workers to total workers was 53 in 1901 while it was 54.4 in 1931.) The causes for this apparent decrease in the agricultural working population were (1) changes introduced from time to time in the census definition of the term "worker," (2) and the change which occurred from time to time in the efficiency of the Indian census enumerator.

According to the census of 1931 the term "worker" means those who work either personally or by means of servants. Women and children also whose work augments the family income were considered workers. A woman who looks after her house, one who occasionally renders assistance by fetching clay to her husband who is a potter, and a man who works in the fields with his father for which work no money is paid were treated as non-workers or non-working dependents. A woman who habitually collects and sells firewood and cowdung, or one who is an all time assistant to her husband who is a potter, is considered a worker.

In 1921, the census enumerators, were given instructions besides those of 1931, that as a rough and ready rule, boys and girls over the age of 10, who actually do field labour or tend cattle were adding to the family income, they should be entered as workers, whether they received wages or not. The term "worker" was differently defined in the census of 1901. Women and children who work at any occupation of whatever kind, not being of a purely domestic character, such as cooking, were treated as workers though they earned wages or not. As there is much change in the definition of the term "worker" from decade to decade, we should interpret the figures carefully. We should bear in mind the changes in the definition of the term "worker" and the general inefficiency of the enumerator to distinguish between worker and non-worker. We should remember that many who follow industry or trade or profession are agriculturists also. The census enumerator was not efficient to ascertain the primary occupation of persons with two or three occupations. When we consider all the above points it can be stated that the actual decrease in the agricultural working population was considerably less than 8.0%.

Presidency of corresponding years. Figures in col. 2 for years 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931 from the Imperial and provincial Census table of the Bombay Presidency pages 279, 286, 312 and 147 of corresponding years.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS IN 1931.

Cultivated area: During the agricultural year 1930-31, corresponding to the latest census year, 1931, only 32.6 million acres (44.0% of the area of the British Districts of Bombay Presidency) were under crops. More than 9 million acres were under forests, and 19.5 million acres were of an allied uncultivable form. The Agricultural Department ascertained that some 6.8 million acres, still unoccupied, were cultivable. In addition to this area, 10.5 million acres were kept as fallow during that year. Leaving out of consideration the area under forests, we find that the total area of cultivable and fallow land formed a large part of the total area of the presidency.

The causes for keeping a large area of cultivable land uncultivated are (1) the fertility of a large part of the cultivable waste land is so poor that the cultivator cannot make any profit (2) The peasant has not enough capital to cultivate the land which can be brought under plough hereafter, (3) and the illiterate cultivator does not know what crops can be raised profitably (with the amount of capital applied on lands already under cultivation) on cultivable waste lands in his neighbourhood i.e., he has no knowledge of the climate, distribution of rain-fall and soil constituents conducive to different crops.

Agricultural Population: Out of 8.5 million actual workers (principal workers and working dependents) in the British Districts of this presidency, enumerated at the time of the census in the year 1931, 5 million or 64.6 per cent were engaged in ordinary cultivation (including cultivation of special crops). They cultivated 32.6 million acres, that is about 6½ acres per capita of the agricultural working population. This area is less than that of an economic holding which is large enough to obtain the maximum returns for the labour and capital generally applied. This is also less than the area of an economic holding which enables the agriculturist to produce sufficient to support himself and his family in reasonable comfort after paying his necessary expenses. Mr. G. Keatinge, who was for some time the Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, wrote that in the Deccan 40 to 50 acres of fair land in one block forms an economic holding according to the latter definition. He wrote that in Surat 3 acres of good garden land could be considered an economic holding. He wrote "to develop and improve a permanent 10 or 20 acres forms in intelligible proposition." (Page 185, Rural Economy in the Bombay Deccan.) Even this insufficient land, 6½ acres per capita, was not

however, equally distributed among those engaged in cultivation. 58 per cent of the agricultural workers were labourers who either did not own land or did not possess sufficient land for their livelihood; 28 per cent were tenants; 3.5 per cent were rent receivers without any other occupation, and only 17.2 per cent were cultivators owning land.

Subdivision and Fragmentation of Land. The cultivator rarely possessed his whole land as a single block. He held small blocks scattered here and there. The following table¹ shows the agricultural holdings in this presidency.

(1) Division	(2) Size of Holding in acres	(3) No. of Holdings	(4) p.c. of area covered by such holding to total area
Presidency property	0- 5	1,013,465	8.84
	5- 15	624,270	20.96
	15- 25	248,790	18.15
	25-100	230,563	35.73
	100-500	20,876	12.83
	500 & over	918	3.50
Sind ...	0- 5	68,819	2.7
	5- 15	65,753	7.2
	15- 25	28,206	6.6
	25-100	42,015	23.9
	100-500	11,596	27.2
	500 & over	2,251	32.4

While in the presidency proper 52% of the area was composed of holdings each measuring above 25 acres, in Sind 83.5% of the area was composed of the holdings of that size. In spite of various difficulties to ascertain the size of an economic holding in different parts of the presidency, we find that the area of the cultivated land per capita of the agricultural working population, was too small to carry on cultivation profitably with the existing technique of production. This being the case, we expect the intelligent cultivator to raise more than one crop annually, to put in more manure, plough deeper, sow better seeds, and raise more and more profitable crops.

1. P. 13-14, Vol. 1, Bombay Presidency Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1939.

Double cropped area: About 1.4 million acres only (4.3 per cent. of the net cropped area) were cropped more than once. This area is not much. The factors disabling the peasants from raising more than one crop on as much land as possible, were (1) the inadequacy of irrigation facilities and the uneven distribution of rainfall, (2) the long time taken by many crops to mature, (3) and the poverty of the peasant to invest money in raising more than one crop annually.

Irrigated area: Some 4.2 million acres only (12.6 per cent of the gross cropped area) were irrigated in 1930-31. The factors obstructing the people from irrigating a large area were (1) bad distribution of rainfall and (2) costliness of irrigation works owing to the uneven surface of the land i.e., ups and downs. Only Sind, which has the Indus, had 63.1 per cent of its gross cropped area irrigated. The Deccan which has a very low, indefinite and uneven rainfall had only 5 per cent of the cultivated area under irrigation. Dr. H. H. Mann thinks that even if every source of water supply is exploited, not more than 7.25 per cent* of the cultivable area can be irrigated. The possibilities of extending irrigation are fewer in Gujarat than in the Deccan.

Ploughs: In 1929, the year of live-stock census (the next live-stock census was taken in 1935) there were 269 tractors, 65,975 iron ploughs, 232,157 large wooden ploughs and 1,277,970 small wooden ploughs. There were in all 1,592,342 ploughs, i.e., 1 plough per 2.4 acres. Though there were many ploughs, tractors and iron ploughs, (which are more efficient for ploughing than wooden ploughs,) were so few that we cannot say the technique of ploughing was efficient.

Manures: The manure used was of the farm yard. It consisted of the solid and liquid excreta of animals, other refuse and the earth spread under the feet of the cattle shed floor. In 1929 there were 9 million oxen, 2.8 million buffaloes, 6.4 million sheep and goats, and 0.57 million other live-stock whose excreta

* Dr. Mann says, "In the Deccan we have got 3.6 per cent of the crop area under irrigation now, and if we utilise every source available that I can think of and every source which the Irrigation Commission have marked out, we shall have 7.25 percent of that area under irrigation. In other words we shall always have more than 30 per cent. of our crop area dry. In Gujarat the proportion will be higher."

P. 48, Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Vol. II, Part I, Evidence in Bombay Presidency.

was used as manure. The cattle were poorly fed, because the farmer himself was very poor, and consequently the average farm yard manure was not very rich in fertilising constituents. Due to the propaganda of the Agricultural Department, pondrett, bone meal, fish, dried blood and other materials of animal origin were used in a few places. Nitrate of soda, sulphate of ammonia, lannaphos, calcium cyanamide and other mineral manures also were used. Oil cakes were commonly used for profitable crops such as sugarcane. Green manures also were used.

Crops raised: The drawback of poor manuring was made up to a considerable extent by allotting a large area to the raising of non-food crops in preference to food-crops which are generally less lucrative than the former. Out of the 34 million acres gross cropped, 24.5 million acres (72.4% of the gross cropped area) were sown with food crops, while 8.9 million acres sown with fibres and and the rest with miscellaneous crops which bring more money than food crops.

Income per capita: According to the Studies of Dr. H. H. Mann, the income per capita in the Deccan varied from Rs. 24 in Jalgaon Budruk to Rs. 43 in Pimpri Soudagar. Rao Bahadur P. C. Patil finds that the income per capita per day of the Deccan cultivator was Rs. 0.1-10 only. Mr. G. C. Mukhtyar ascertained in 1927 the income per capita per annum in a prosperous village, Atgam in Surat District, as Rs. 67 only. The income in Konkan is certainly lower than that in the Deccan. All the available data point out that the income per capita is extremely low. It is lower than the income of the fishing community which varies from Rs. 133 to Rs. 315 according to Mr. H. T. Sorley. The following table* shows that the agriculturist had the lowest wage.

1				2		
Occupation				Adult wage per day		
				Rs.	A.	P.
Agriculture (urban)	...	...	...	0	6	5
Handloom weaving (cloth)	...	...	...	0	8	0
Pottery (Ahmedabad)	...	...	...	0	10	0
Kinkhab ...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Spinning of gold and silver thread	...	...	...	0	12	0
Embroidery	...	...	...	1	0	0

* All the figures in Col. 2 except for agriculture are taken from Report on Art Crafts of the Bombay Presidency by G. P. Fernandez. 1932.

In the above table we recorded the wages of manual labourers whose skill is not much superior to that of the agriculturists. The lowest wage of the agriculturist may be chiefly due to the highest degree of congestion of workers in agriculture.

The technique of production in agriculture was not uniform throughout the whole presidency but differed in its five natural divisions. For the sake of brevity let us give up the study of the conditions in the five divisions.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE TECHNIQUE OF PRODUCTION

Now we shall examine how the technique of agricultural production had progressed. By understanding the changes in the various indices or factors of the technique of production and the factors behind them we can understand fully the trend of improvements in the technique of production.

One has to be careful while studying the progress in the technique of production in agriculture. Between 1901 and 1931 there were more than 10 years of scarcity of rainfall, sometimes throughout the presidency and sometimes local. If we take the census year 1901 which fell in the later part of the great famine of 1899-1903, as the basic year for comparison, we find considerable progress. But even within an year after the famine was over, there was much improvement. So the year 1901 cannot be accepted as the basic year.

When there are frequent changes in seasons, quinquennial averages rather than annual figures can fairly indicate the progress. During the last decade of our study scarcity of rainfall was of a different nature from that existing previously. There was neither absolute nor widespread scarcity. It can be called a decade of somewhat moderate years. But even this slight deficiency was not of considerable effect because such moderate years were not continuous; on the other hand years of deficiency were alternately followed by years of fair agricultural seasons.

Scarcity being comparatively absent during the final decade we can pick up the normal years and study the progress.

The difference in the results of the two methods may not be much; anyhow we shall use both the methods.

The following table shows how the gross cropped area had increased:

(1) Period	(2) * Average gross cropped area during the Quinquennium in acres.
1900-01 to 1904-05	27,209,898
1908-09 to 1912-13	29,645,870
1913-14 to 1917-18	32,005,568
1918-19 to 1922-23	30,234,747
1923-24 to 1927-28	32,692,916
1928-29 to 1930-31	33,894,387
Increase between	
1900-01 to 1904-05 &	6,684,489
1928-29 to 1930-31	

The gross cropped area increased by 24.6% while the size of the actually working agricultural population recorded in census decreased by about 8.0 per cent. This decrease was mostly due to change brought about in the census definition of the term worker. The area of the gross cropped land per capita of the agricultural working population increased steadily from 4.3 acres to 6.5 acres i. e., by 51.2 per cent. The increase in the gross cropped area has been steady except during 1918-19 to 1922-23. The decrease during this quinquennium was chiefly due to widespread scarcity of rainfall in 1918-19, 1920-21 and partial failure of rains in Sind in 1919-20 and 1921-22.

The table on the next page shows the gross cropped area during the years when there was no scarcity of rainfall.

The gross cropped area had increased by 18.2% while the agricultural working population decreased by about 8.0%. Though

* Figures in col. 2 compiled from the Agricultural Statistics of British India, Vol. I of corresponding years. The reports of the years 1905-06 to 1907-08 not being available in the School where this research is carried the figures of that period are omitted.

(1) Year	(2)* Gross cropped area in acres.
1902-03	27,833,000
1903-04	28,305,000
1908-09	30,118,000
1909-10	30,307,000
1910-11	30,612,000
1912-13	30,425,000
1913-14	30,762,000
1914-15	31,387,000
1915-16	31,576,000
1916-17	33,328,000
1917-18	32,975,000
1919-20	32,132,000
1921-22	31,968,000
1922-23	32,095,000
1924-25	33,002,000
1926-27	32,865,000
1928-29	33,441,000
1930-31	34,019,000
Increase	
1902-03	6,186,000
1930-31	

Figures in col. 2 are taken from the Agricultural Statistics of British India, Vol I of corresponding years.

there was some fall in 1912-13 it was a normal year. In the early years of Great War there was a rapid increase. In 1917-18 there was scarcity of rainfall in Sind hence the area therein decreased. The same was the case in 1919-20 and 1921-22. Hence the gross cropped area increased gradually till in 1930-31. It was greater than what it was during the early period of the great war.

Double cropped area. The double cropped area increased more rapidly than the gross cropped area.

(1) Period.	(2)* Double-cropped area in acres.
1900-01 to 1904-05	872,462,000
1908-09 to 1912-13	1,081,482,000
1913-14 to 1917-18	1,187,393,000
1918-19 to 1922-23	1,048,379,000
1923-24 to 1927-28	1,048,559,000
1928-29 to 1930-31	1,341,814,000
Increase during	
1900-01 to 1904-05 to	469,352,000
1928-29 to 1930-31.	

The double cropped area increased by 53.8%. Most of the increase was during the last quinquennium of study. The increase is partly due to the low figure in the first quinquennium, two years of which were famine years.

If we compare 1930-31 with 1902-03 taking 1902-03 as the base year, we find an increase of more than 56%. If we take 1903-04, the second year after the great famine, we notice an increase by 39.5%. Most of the increase was during the last three years in the table. Though a comparison with the bad years at the beginning of the century exaggerates progress, there was considerable increase in the area under double-crops.

* Figures in col. 2 compiled from Agricultural Statistics of British India, Vol. I of corresponding years.

Irrigated area. Now we shall note the progress in the area under irrigation which generally enhances the net cropped and double cropped areas and also the volume of agricultural production.

The following table * shows the increase in the gross irrigated area :—

(1) Period.	(2) Gross irrigated area in acres.
1900-01 to 1904-05	4,127,459
1908-09 to 1912-13	4,567,460
1913-14 to 1917-18	4,940,352
1918-19 to 1922-23	4,244,903
1923-24 to 1927-28	4,358,864
1928-29 to 1930-31	4,609,661
Increase during 1900-01 to 1904-05 & 1928-29 to 1930-31	482,202

The increase between the first five years of the first decade and the last five of the third decade of this century is 11.7%. Up to the end of the War period there was steady progress. But another trend began in 1918-19 to 1922-23 and continued. The break of the trend at the close of the war period was due to 5 years of failure of rains in Sind and 3 years of scarcity in the presidency proper. The progress has been slow because during years of scanty rainfall, the supply of sub-soil water decreased and consequently the area irrigated by means of wells and tanks decreased. While the area irrigated by Government canals increased considerably, the area irrigated by other means did not show any progress. Another cause of the slow progress was the absence of important irrigation works of the Presidency proper. More than 72% of the gross irrigated area was in Sind which formed less than 40% of the whole province.

* Figures in col. 2 compiled from the Agricultural Statistics of British India, Vol. I of the corresponding years.

If we take 1903-04 as the basic year and compare 1930-31 with it, the increase would be less than 2.8%. Thus the gross irrigated area did not increase appreciably.

Now we shall see how the area under food crops which are generally less lucrative than other crops has increased.

(1) Period.	(2)* Area under food crops in acres.
1900-01 to 1904-05	21,571,562
1908-09 to 1912-13	22,817,315
1913-14 to 1917-18	23,489,254
1918-19 to 1922-23	21,862,000
1923-24 to 1927-28	22,564,843
1928-29 to 1930-31	23,587,884
Increase between 1900-01 to 1904-05 & 1928-29 to 1930-31	2,016,322

The area under food crops increased by 9.3%. The very factors which broke off the trend at the end of the war period operated to some extent in the case of area under food crops. During the same period, the area under non-food crops increased from 5,638,336 acres in 1900-01 to 1904-05 to 10,306,503 acres in 1928-29 to 1930-31; i.e. by 82.8%. So, judged by the criterion of the allotment of area under profitable crops in preference to less paying crops, the technique of production improved very remarkably.

Regarding manuring there were no data. But the excreta of the animals forming practically the whole manure and most of the excreta being utilised as manure, we shall take the increase in the size of the livestock as an index of the quantity of manure available and utilised.

* Figures in col. 2 compiled from the Agricultural Statistics of British India, Vol. I of the corresponding years.

(1) Nature of Livestock.	(2)* 1901-02	(3)* 1929-30
Oxen & Buffaloes. ...	7,544,964	8,999,441
Sheep. ...	1,688,888	2,796,546
Goats. ...	2,780,798	3,859,070
Others. ...	505,259	571,408
Total ...	12,519,909	18,788,828

The livestock increased by 50%. A large part of the increase is due to the choice of the base year. (The Famine Commission estimates that more than 2 million cattle died during 1899-1900) when the live-stock was enumerated (1901-02). The increase was in part also due to considerable improvement in the accuracy of enumeration. In addition to some increase in live-stock (index of farm yard manure) artificial manures such as pondrett, bone meal, fish dried blood, etc. which were not thought of 30 years back are being used by some enterprising farmers.

Due to propaganda the technique of ploughing has progressed though slowly. Some iron ploughs are used here and there while they were a novelty some 30 years back. Tractors, power crushers, oil engines are used by some enterprising farmers.

Summary: There were too many persons engaged in agriculture to have enough cultivated land per capita. In addition to this, the soil was generally poor and rainfall frequently falling. The technique of production was very poor. Some indices of the technique of agricultural production, double cropped area and area under commercial crops showed satisfactory progress. Ploughs and manures used indicated only nominal progress. Practically no advance is noticeable in the percentage of irrigated area to the total area cultivated. If we consider all the indices of the technique of agricultural production we find that the technique had progressed more rapidly than the agricultural working population.

* Figures in cols. 2 and 3 compiled from Agricultural Statistics of British India, Vol. I of the corresponding years.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The increase in the area under crops has to be discounted because rainfall which is probably the most important factor in Indian agriculture, was not steady throughout the period of study. The improvement of technique is only a means to it. Agricultural production is effected by changes in rainfall and sunshine as much as, or even more than, by changes in technique of production. Certain crops require a particular quantity of rainfall on particular occasions. Though all the other factors that can be controlled by human beings are favourable, production falls if rainfall falls either completely or partially or even on particular occasions. So in tracts of inadequate irrigation facilities the area under crops should always be considerably more than that sufficient in years of adequate rainfall. The cultivated area should be large enough to cover the risk of failure of rain.

In 1899-1900, 22,594,000 acres or 80.7% of that in 1898-99, a year of normal rainfall, were cultivated. But rainfall failed and the production was 19,540,570* Indian maunds, while in the previous year it had been 137,680,010 maunds. Next year about 91% of the area of a normal year was sown but production was 45% of the normal yield. In 1901-02, 96.7% of the area cultivated in 1898-99 was sown but the rainfall failed again and the production was only 55%. In the Panchmahals, production fell to 8.5% of that in the normal year owing to want of rain and to the terrible havoc done by rats. The Famine Commission estimated the loss during the famine years attributable to the failure of rain at 74 crores of rupees.

Growth of agricultural production in each decade: Now we shall study the growth of agricultural production. H. S. Lawrence observed that in normal years like 1894-95, and 1895-96 agricultural production was 6,682,000¹ tons per annum. Assuming the food necessary for consumption as 6½ maunds per capita per annum (half a maund in excess of that set up by the Famine Commission) the food produced was 18% more than that necessary for the maintenance of the people. He writes "Put briefly, the general conclusion is that in an ordinary year the people can afford to

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1. P. 15, Report of the Famine Commission in the Bombay Presidency 1890-1902, Vol. II, Appendices.
 1. Memorandum on the material condition of the people of the Bombay Presidency, 1892-1901, page 7.

keep 20% of the land under non-food crops and the remaining 80% will produce a sufficient supply of grain alone for their subsistence for 15 months, even without assistance from fish, flesh or milk. But when rains failed in 1900-01 the production fell short by 30.8% of that necessary. The above data enable us to state that the area of the land under crops was not always large enough to cover the risk of failure of rains and to yield the necessary food. In other words there was pressure of population in agriculture and consequently the agricultural working population had ridiculously poor income.

In 1902-03, a good average year, 27.8 million acres were gross-cropped, 0.89 million acres double-cropped, 3.7 million acres were irrigated and 22.3 million acres were under food crops. W. W. Smart, the Director of Agriculture estimated *the agricultural production in the Presidency proper during that year, 1902-03 as sufficient² for the people therein for fourteen months.*

During 1902-03 to 1910-11, there was steady progress in the technique of production and agricultural seasons were favourable with the exception of some partial failure of crops in Gujarat in 1904, in Deccan and Karnatak in 1905, and in many parts of the province in 1907. The seasons were more than average in Sind. During this decade the area under cotton crop increased considerably. In 1909-10, the irrigated area in the Deccan and Gujarat increased considerably. During this decade agricultural production was fairly sufficient for direct consumption.

During the next decade, there were seven years of scarcity of rainfall in Sind while there were only three such years in the presidency proper. There was local famine in 1911-12 and the effect of scarcity of rainfall on agricultural production was worse in the presidency proper than in Sind. 1915-19 was the worst year in that decade. An year after, there was a glut throughout the presidency. The years of scarcity in Sind were many and continuous. Dr. H. H. Mann gives the following estimates of the value of agricultural production in each year of the decade, after taking into consideration the area under cultivation, normal yield per acre, and deviation of rainfall from the normal fall, with the harvest prices of 1911-12 as standard prices.

2. Memorandum on the material condition of the people of the Bombay Presidency, 1902-1911.

(1) Year.	(2) Presidency proper	(3) Sind	(4) Total
Rupees in Lakhs.			
1911-12	6,933	1,794	8,727
1912-13	9,775	2,147	11,922
1913-14	10,728	1,941	12,669
1914-15	11,791	2,177	13,968
1915-16	13,012	1,753	14,765
1916-17	12,304	2,457	14,761
1917-18	11,862	1,734	13,596
1918-19	6,789	1,117	7,906
1919-20	12,772	1,837	14,609
1920-21	7,888	1,324	9,212
1921-22	10,618	1,939	12,557

1911-12 was a year of glut, and if we take the next year as the basic year and take the averages of the triennial groups we can have a correct idea of the progress. In the presidency as a whole, and in Sind separately there was a rise during 1913-14 to 1915-16 over that in 1912-13. But hence there was a gradual fall which was slightly recovered in the presidency proper in the final triennium. Due to the influenza which was rampant in 1917-18 and 1918-19 (it prevailed simultaneously in most of the oriental countries) population decreased in 1921 from that in 1911. Hence the fall in production might not have lowered income per capita of the people.

Final decade: Between 1919-20 and 1930-31 production of foodstuffs (which formed the major part of agricultural production and regarding which reliable information is available), increased considerably. The following table¹ gives the necessary data :—

1. Figures in cols. 2 & 3 compiled from "Season and Crop Reports" of the Bombay Presidency of the corresponding years.

(1) Crop	(2) (3) Estimated output in Tons.		(4) Percentage of Increase (+) or decrease (-)
	Average of the years 1919-20 to 1921-22	Average of the years 1928-29 to 1930-31	
Rice	1,325,928	1,385,503	+ 4.5
Wheat	279,463	425,279	+ 52.2
Barley	13,997	10,700	- 23.5
Jowar	1,647,203	1,806,768	+ 9.7
Bajri	690,437	623,129	- 9.7
Ragi	195,313	214,832	+ 10.0
Maize	77,458	62,607	- 18.9
Kodra	92,196	62,012	- 32.7
Other cereals	167,856	145,697	- 13.2
Tur	89,471	93,347	+ 4.3
Gram	94,206	130,516	+ 40.0
Other pulses	203,641	325,158	+ 6.0
Total of cereals and pulses.	4,970,724	5,252,061	+ 5.6

Due to variations in seasons and general technique of production, total production of cereals and pulses, increased by 5.6 per cent. only, while area under cultivation (with cereals and pulses) increased by less than 5 per cent. Dr. Mann writes: "I think that foodstuffs are certainly grown to the full extent that it is necessary in order to supply the needs of the people." During the same period area under non-food crops increased more rapidly and so the production of non-food crops might have increased many times more than that of food crops.

To summarise the progress in each decade, sketched in the foregoing pages, there was considerable progress in agricultural output during the last thirty years. There has been some

improvement over the living conditions, described in the Report of the Famine Commission of 1899-1902 and also in the memorandum on the material condition of the people of the Bombay Presidency, 1892-1901. Owing to inadequate and unreliable data regarding output of different crops* and cost of cultivation, it is not possible to ascertain the actual rate of increase of income per capita of the agricultural working population. Dr. H. H. Mann states in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, that though the cultivators in the Deccan were using petty luxuries, *e.g.*, soaps, cigarettes, umbrellas, their standard of life did not improve materially during the last twenty years. The famine conditions in the basic year 1901 and the absence of increase in the size of the agricultural working population from 1901, to 1931 enable us to read progress in agricultural output. Had there been no famine in 1901, and had the size of the agricultural working population increased, there would have been no increase in income per capita of the agricultural working population.

The point which deserves notice is the present low income of agriculturists, inspite of progress in agricultural output during the last thirty years. This is so because the income per capita at the beginning of this century was ridiculously low.

SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.

The present study helps us to note down the following points as the causes of the inadequate progress in agricultural output :—

1. Too many persons working in agriculture.
2. Frequent failure of rain and inadequacy of irrigation facilities.
3. Need for the popularisation of the best technique of raising the most profitable crops in place of the crops raised at present. Need for the popularization of knowledge about the crops which can be raised profitably on cultivable waste lands under present conditions of soil, climate, and rainfall.
4. Scarcity of cheap credit for agricultural operations.

*Estimates of the output of the following crops are not available: 1. Linseed 2. sesame 3. Rape 4. Mustard 5. groundnut 6. coconut 7. castor seed 8. condiments and spices 9. dyer 10. Fruits and vegetables 11. Fodder. The available estimates of some of the remaining crops are prepared with the results of crop yield carried on some decades back and with the recent figures of rainfall.

1. Agricultural occupation has been overpopulated since 1901. Too many persons were following agriculture as a means of livelihood to cultivate enough land to cover the risk of frequent failure of rain and to have economic holdings for all the families depending on agriculture. Oversupply of workers in agriculture may be the chief cause of excessively low wages of agricultural workers.

Congestion in agriculture can be relieved by transferring some labourers and cultivators, who either own no land or own insufficient land, to better paying and less congested occupations which do not require superior skill, *e.g.*, fishing, tanning, and unskilled labour in industries which came into existence recently. Some who have agriculture as a subsidiary occupation may give up agriculture and make their present principal occupation their whole time occupation. It may be necessary to send away from agriculture some workers whose primary occupation is agriculture. They have to undergo training for a few weeks in their new occupations. This kind of transfer from agriculture can be had by offering concession in conveyance charges, medical charges, house rent, tuition fee of children etc. Government may finance this scheme of transfer. Congestion in agriculture can be checked by enacting that agricultural holdings of a certain area cannot be partitioned.

2. As the extension of irrigation facilities are considered by experts such as Dr. H. H. Mann to be too costly, cultivators should be helped to bore wells.

To make up the defect of frequent failure of rains, cultivators should raise crops which grow well without depending much upon rainfall. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research can ascertain what crops can be raised in different districts without depending much upon rainfall.

3. To enable cultivators to observe economy the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research should enable the cultivators to know what crops can be raised more profitably than the crops raised at present under existing conditions of rainfall, climate and soil constituents. The cultivators should be enabled to know what crops can be raised profitably on cultivable waste lands in different districts. The department of agriculture should increase demonstration and propaganda of the results of its experiments on the technique of raising different crops, so that the cultivators can improve their agricultural practices.

4. As scarcity of cheap credit for long time agricultural operations is the chief cause of the use of poor manures, poor seed, poor ploughs and the absence of good irrigation wells, rapid development of co-operative movement can improve agricultural conditions appreciably.

G. RAGHAVA RAO



Reviews

Principles of General Geography By Dewan Bahadur Prof. H. L. Kaji. (Oxford University Press).

Prof. Kaji's book is a welcome addition to the numerous books on Geography published in this country. The author has succeeded in putting a wealth of material about the Earth in so small a compass of this book, and has given to it a distinctive entity by his relevant emphasis on the Indian point of view. Memorising a catalogue of names of cities, mountains, rivers etc., and a string of occupations unrelated to natural environment, which had been hitherto considered to be the scope of geographical study, is effectively belied by Prof. Kaji in this book.

The first four chapters give the usual material which constitutes a broad basis of what is commonly known as Physical Geography. The author has given completeness to the book by adding discussion on Maps and Map-Projections but unfortunately one misses living reference to the technique of the Survey Sheets of India. Perhaps the book is too small to embody them. A section of "The Studies in Climate" seems to be very thought provoking. Studies in Climatology do discuss correlations between situation and climate but nowhere have I come across such a set of simple though empirical laws to enable one to deduce the climate of a place from its situation and *vice versa* as has been done in this little section. The whole section is likely to merit the close attention of the meteorologist. The author has rightly brought to bear on his discussions chosen Indian examples which are both informative and educative.

The real contribution of this book is confined to chapters VI and VII, Man and his Environment and Development of Human Life. Prof. Kaji deserves felicitations from all concerned for so lucidly and refreshingly reorienting the manners and the customs, character and clothing, architecture and occupations, religion and festivals and setting all of them in a correct geographical perspective with a gift of an anthropogeographer. While dealing with intricate problems of evolution the author has tried to interpret Indian mythology in scientific terms. Perhaps it is the first venture of an Indian scholar in a technical book like this. The interpretation is certainly original and makes a very fascinating reading for a religiously minded adult and academically

mindful student. It is sufficient to evoke interest in a research worker which in itself is a tribute to the author. One feels we could have more of it.

The perspective all throughout the book is laudable; the style is lucid and dignified; the material is properly chosen and arranged and the outlook is both scientific and Indian which is essentially significant, at a time when our educational system is being remoulded. On the whole, the book is vitally man-centred then earth-centred, and hence it rightfully claims its pride of place in the literature already existing on the subject. The book gives an interesting reading to students as also to the public, and above all caters to a well synthesized textual reading on the subject for University courses.

P. M. TRIVEDI.

"Principles of Political Science and Government" by Biman Behari Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. Mondal Brothers & Co., Ltd., Calcutta, (Price Rs. 2/8/-).

The book is evidently intended for the use of students preparing for Service examinations and the degree examinations of Indian Universities. The author modestly confesses that there is not much that is original in his book. Originality, indeed is a rare gift and it is not every one who could lay claim to it. But if this author is wanting in originality he has made up this deficiency in lucidity and simplicity of expression.

The book follows the usual treatment of the subject as is found in Garner and other text books. The chapters are arranged topically and deal with the Nature of the State, theories of Origin of the State, Sphere of the State, Law and Liberty, Citizenship, Constitution and Forms of government, League of Nations, Political Institutions, legislative, executive and judicial, Local Government, Colonial Government and Political Parties.

In the later chapters an attempt is made to examine current political theories in the light of the latest events in Italy, Germany, France, Japan and the United States of America. But the data under investigation should be sufficiently recent. The present political condition of Great Britain, for instance, may be more carefully treated in view of provoking problems raised by Prof. Leach in his "Democracy in Crisis".

At the end of every chapter, the author suggests subjects for essays and further study. The chapters themselves are helpful in understanding them, and students of political science may certainly profit by these suggestions.

Dr. Majumdar attempts the discussion of political problems by giving illustrations from facts familiar to Indian students. He has unfortunately not drawn upon Hindu political theories or institutions or upon the facts of the Islamic State in India. His book is useful as it is; but it would have become truly instructive as well, if such comparative study had been attempted. This is not, however, by way of minimising the value of the book. In our opinion, it fully justifies its primary aim to be of use to students preparing for various examinations, and as such we recommend it to the reading public of this country.

PRATAPGIRI RAMAMURTI

Elementary Economics : Jathar and Beri. Oxford University Press. Rs. 1-12.

Text-books belong to the class of things which all dislike, but none can do without. Especially in the case of such ill-equipped students as the general run of candidates appearing for the I.A. examination the need for a Text-book on Elementary Economics is unquestioned. The authors have tried their best to combine the advantages of a summary and an outline of the main features of the subject. References to Indian conditions have been given in several places. It is hoped that with suitable assistance from the teacher the book will serve the needs of the students for whom it is prepared.

D. G. K.

Elements of Economics and Civics: by C. N. Vakil and J. J. Anjaria. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., pp. 303, price Rs. 2/8/-.

The book is planned and written with a view to meeting the requirements of Intermediate Students of the Bombay University preparing for the Economics and Civics Examination. The arrangement of the subject matter follows faithfully the lines of the syllabus prescribed by the University, and provides a suitable introduction to the study of these two valuable subjects. Part one, dealing with Economics, covers practically the whole range of

Economic theory—the definition and scope of the subject, the theory of value, the theory of population, the nature of Economic organisation, the nature and functions of money, national income and standards of life and problems of public finance. At the same time the treatment is elementary enough to inform in sufficiently non-technical language an average student of the intermediate standard, or a layman interested in these ideas, the implications of these aspects of the subject, a clear understanding of which is absolutely indispensable for an intelligent appreciation of the trends of public policy. The subject matter is not burdened as in some other elementary treatises on Economics, with facts and ideas that are regarded as obsolete. On the contrary it keeps abreast of recent trends in Economic thought so admirably, that its study at the intermediate stage may be expected to save the waste involved in teaching Economic theory on old-fashioned lines in degree classes; and the book is useful even for those of its readers who do not propose to specialise in Economics at a later stage, in that it provides them with a more recent, and therefore, more useful background of Economic theory. It may be felt that the explanation of some of the recent developments at the intermediate stage is fraught with difficulty; but the only answer to such an objection would be to echo the words of Professor Edwin Cannan who rightly doubted "the policy of trying to teach beginners only what is easy." *

The second part dealing with Civics is also planned according to the prescribed syllabus. Besides being a very good introduction to the study of Civics, it should provide an excellent basis for, and stimulate interest in the study of Political Science and Sociology, especially valuable as preparatory ground for the contemplated Honours courses in these subjects.

On the whole, the book provides within a reasonable amount of space, an admirable treatment of the prescribed syllabus, and with its lucidity of language and the comprehensive and modern character of its treatment, it should commend itself as one of the best books produced to meet the requirements of students preparing for the intermediate examination in the subjects.

P. S. NARAYAN PRASAD,

*Edwin Cannan WEALTH: Preface to the first edition

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Part 4

CONTENTS

Page

ARTICLES:

RARE FIGURES OF VIKRI FROM GUJARAT	... H. D. BANKALLA ...	3
FOLK-SONGS FROM MALWA	... G. R. PRADHAN ...	8
RAHADS OF KATHIAWAR (A Social Study)	... B. L. MANKAD ...	31
GROWTH OF THE CIVIC IDEA	... PRATAPAGIRI RAMAMURTI ...	87
IMPRESSIONS OF WORLD AGRICULTURE...	... V. G. GORHALE ...	89
THE GROWTH OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY	... G. RAGHAVA RAO ...	95

REVIEWS:

PRINCIPLES OF GENERAL GEOGRAPHY	... 118
PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT	... 119
ELEMENTARY ECONOMICS	... 120
ELEMENTS OF ECONOMICS AND CIVICS	... 120

<u>BOOKS RECEIVED</u>	... 122
-----------------------	---------

<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u>	... 123
-------------------------	---------

<u>EXCHANGES</u>	... 124
------------------	---------

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